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BORN AUGUST 10TH, 1865. DIED NOVEMBER 1ST, 1944.

The Church has suffered a great loss by the death of the Metropolitan Andrew Szepticky, Archbishop of Lwow, chief hierarch and great leader of the Ukrainians in Polish Galicia.

Mgr. Szepticky was born at Przybylce in 1865 and, giving up the law, he became a Basilian monk at Dobromil. He was bishop of Stanislawow at the age of 34 and metropolitan during the next year. His eventful career was bound up with that of his people, who revered him profoundly: he was regarded as a father by Catholics and Orthodox alike. His own immediate flock numbered some million and a quarter souls, and consisted of 650 separate parishes.

One of the most important lessons this great leader has left us is the value he attached to the "Eastern mentality," not only as a factor in the work for the reunion of dissidents, but for its own sake as a real part of the Church's Catholicity. This attitude was not due to any want of knowledge of Western culture: he himself had been brought up in a polonized Ukrainian noble family, and his early monastic life was spent in the westernized Basilian order.

With the help of his brother, Father Clement (Count Casimir Szepticky), he founded the group of monks known as Studites, since they have as their model the life lived at the famous monastery of the Stoudion at Constantinople in the ninth century. One of the objects of these monks is to encourage the restoration of liturgical purity among the people. The approbation given them by the Sacred Eastern Congregation in 1923 said: "It is the wish of this Congregation that the monks observe the Byzantine rite in all its purity

getting rid of all alterations whatsoever in use among the Ruthenian people and sanctioned by the Synod of Zamosc." The famous seminary of Lwow (one of the largest in the world), so dear to Mgr. Szepticky, was made an academy of theology in 1931.

The Metropolitan Andrew has been rightly called "the Galician Mercier" and he is mourned by Ukrainians all over the world. In our last issue we printed an account of him written by a personal friend, and those readers who look for a more extended obituary notice cannot do better than turn back to that article.

THE MYSTERY OF LOVE

THE treatment of the Holy Father's Encyclical, *Mystici Corporis*, in England would suggest that we considered it of merely academic interest. We seem to regard it as fodder for the dogmatic theologians who are sometimes rather undernourished in the fastnesses of Catholic *Studia*. When the theologians began to ruminate on the document they gave the Catholic public to understand that it was a deeply theological treatise and therefore difficult reading, that it was moreover long and solid.

Deeply theological most emphatically, but intended for the whole Church, encompassed in sixty pages, and with a clarity and persuasiveness that should capture the slowest wit. Pius XII himself assures us that he intends "to display and extol *in the eyes of all* the beauty, the endowments, and the glory of Mother Church" (§4). Why have we predisposed the naturally lazy English reader to pass over as not for general consumption such an important and encouraging encyclical? Had it been another *Mit Brennender Sorge* or *Quadragesimo Anno* how different would have been the attitude of our Catholic publicists! Yet the wisdom and depth of *Mystici Corporis* together with its clear and powerful tones provide a surer hope of re-ordering our distracted world than any Social Encyclical.

To some these words will appear exaggerated. There is nothing fresh in the document; they have heard it, and thought it, all before elsewhere. But of course we do not look to a papal Encyclical to tell us something necessarily new—since

the definition of papal infallibility we have become prone to expect Popes to produce new doctrines in quick succession. The Vicar of Christ may produce new things or old from the Church's treasury according to the needs of the moment. But the truths he promulgates are the truths of the Church; and the fact that so much has been written round the mystery of Christ in us, would lead us to expect the Pope to gather the theological thought of the Church into a unity and give it comprehensive and universal expression. The significance of the Encyclical is in the fact that while it may all have been said before by different sections of the teaching Church, it has never hitherto been given whole and universal expression. That is surely the point of the Holy Father's words about the discussions on the doctrine: "From a right minded and earnest investigation of this subject, and from the clash of conflicting opinions and a rivalry of views, inspired by love of truth and obedience to the Church, precious light emerges and promotes a real advance even in these sacred sciences. We have therefore no word of blame for those who follow their various patterns and methods in their efforts to reach and, as far as possible, illustrate, this profound mystery (§78). The Encyclical is in some ways the conclusion, the final stage, of the intense devotion and thought of the Church universal during the last forty or fifty years.

In the first place we must bear in mind that the Pope is writing about the One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church (§22)—sinners are not excluded except by schism, heresy or apostasy. Thus non-Catholics may be not excluded from the Church because their schism or heresy is only a material sin. In the second place it is useful to recall the different aspects of the unity of the Church considered in the sciences of apologetics and dogmatic theology. Apologetics is concerned with the visible unity by which the true Church is recognized. The Pope, concerned more with the aspect of dogmatic theology, is in effect correcting the emphasis that inevitably has been given to visible unity since the Reformation. These two *praesupposita* will be evident as we proceed.

The Encyclical then gathers together the many facets of a divine mystery which we can never in this life comprehend. Fr. Bevenot S.J. has written of the Encyclical: "It will surprise many [non-Catholics] to find so much of their own thought on Papal lips, thinking as they so often do that what they prize is excluded by ecclesiastical claims, and not realizing

that the Church is indeed a mystery, a *complexus oppositorum*” (*Clergy Review*, April 1944, p. 151). The freshness of the Encyclical lies in the manner of gathering all the great paradoxes concerning the Church into a single compass, with emphasis on the central reality in which will be found the beginning of a synthesis only finally to be discovered in the life of vision. The opposites remain such in this life, but their coincidence is begun in the furnace of charity. The visible Church, the Church invisible; the hierarchic Church, the Church charismatic; the Holy Church, the Church of sinners; the juridical Church, the supernatural Church; the divine Church, whose members are not divinized; the one Church, for whose unity we beg at the celebration of every Mass. All these paradoxes are included in *Mystici Corporis*, and many others too. The mystery is of a many sided unity, and therefore the mind may easily fix on one facet in such a way as to forget the others. This is the way of over-emphasis so frequently the father of heresy and the slayer of mystery. One may stress the holiness to the detriment of sinners in the Church, the hierarchy or the visible head to the detriment of the internal spirit, the disunity of Christians to the rejection of true unity and so on, and each one the other way round. In each and every case there would be a misunderstanding of the Unity of the Mystical Body and therefore an attack on the very heart of the Church.

If we take this oneness of the Church we may find the over-emphasis at both extremes. There are non-Catholics who, taking stock of all the divisions among Christians, despair of the unity of the Church except as a very remote ideal. The Christian Church is a shattered mirror, each fragment reflecting some little aspect (true and genuine enough in itself) of the Body of Christ. But all the king's horses and all the king's men cannot put it together, the only hope being an inner unity of purpose, undetected by the world that scorns divided Christendom, but seen by the inner light of Wisdom.

On the other hand there are some who seem to think Catholics hold such a rigid view of the unity of the Roman Catholic Church that external form and legalism threaten the very life of the Body of Christ, rendering it incapable of nourishment or growth, and the prayer of Christ for the unity of the Church, already one as a unit of matter is one, seems superfluous. You either belong to the one, visible organiza-

tion, which may be called the Body of Christ, but is more recognizable under the label "R.C.," or you are not of Christ's fold and deserve to be damned. This might almost seem to imply that we who are of the Church of Rome do not deserve to be damned, which is the height of pride and error, or that these members are so completely enslaved to the Vicar of Christ that the whole Body acts as an automaton.

There are true elements in these two extremes, and these may stand as representative of the many *opposita* whose coincidence is the mystery of Christ's Body and the scope of the Holy Father's widely embracing summary of its doctrine. He sets out to refute the two "mutually contradictory errors" of *rationalism* and *false mysticism* in order to dispel the groundless fears of those who refuse to consider the doctrine on account of these errors, and so "to lend new splendour to the beauty of the Church; to impart a fuller appreciation of the unique and supernatural dignity of the faithful united in the Body of Christ with their Head; and to preclude manifold errors on this subject" (§§ 9, 10 and 11).

The Encyclical, then, deals with the Church's unity in love. The true conception of this unifying bond avoids the two erroneous extremes; on the one hand the denial of the essential place of love in the Church by those who treat her as a mere juridical body—an organization without organic life; and on the other the misconception of the love, which binds in one, a misconception that leaves a formless organism without organization. This latter view is so common to-day that the Pope has had to reserve most of the condemnatory section of the Letter to falsely mystical views, which take their stand to a large extent round the liturgical movement. It is inevitable that in a time of war people should seek an escape through the poetic beauties of mystical love. If one studies the vast amount of literature that has appeared on this subject one finds this general character—the presumption that the end is not only *prima in intentione*, but also *prima in executione*, that it is possible to put in one's thumb and pull out the plum of the spiritual pie without any prosaic cutting or munching of the hard pie crust. The presumption is that the union of charity is at once fully acquired through the Sacraments and the Liturgy, and all follows from that without more ado. This surely is the explanation of the success of the Heards and Huxleys in England to-day. On the Continent this movement has apparently been more theological and therefore more

insidious, so that Pius XII has been moved to condemn the pantheism of an undifferentiated identity with Christ, the quietism of a false reliance on the Holy Spirit, the humanism that discourages the frequent use of the Sacrament of Penance and the asking for things from God (§§ 84-89).

These errors, which are latent in the English mystical movement too, arise from a one-sided insistence on love in Christ. The Encyclical shows the way in which this divine union of charity must embrace a far wider series of elements; it shows that it is not all as easy as the modern mystic would have it. But it does insist that, despite the error, the essential element of ecclesiastical unity lies in the all-embracing divine charity. This seems to be clear too from what we know of the latest Encyclical, issued on Easter Sunday, concerned with the Eastern churches. In this His Holiness, writing in honour of the fifteenth centenary of St. Cyril of Alexandria, reduces the unities involved to three, unity in Faith, unity in Love, and unity under the Vicar of Christ. Although some may be surprised to find the vehement St. Cyril held up as a model of brotherly love, it is evident that Pius XII regards this as of fundamental importance. We quote from the summary given by the Vatican Radio: "To-day too the spirit of charity will steer the way home for the return of the dissidents, facilitating mutual comprehension, showing respect for the institutions, the liturgy, and the hierarchical orders of the East, and holding Latin institutions and rites in the same esteem."

Of recent years the Apologetic of the Notes has tended to reduce the unity of the Church to the visible unity of faith, worship and regimen to be judged *hic et nunc*, in the temporal present. By the Encyclical *Mystici Corporis*, with its application in this most recent *Orientalis Ecclesiae Decus*, it is clear that the Holy Father would take us back to something more fundamental, a unity in Christ which embraces all members of His Body from the beginning. He would remind us that the note of unity which Our Lord demanded was that of love and that this unity is a *process* of unification, a dynamic operation of Christ's, gathering all into one, continuing His work in the world until His Bride is completely one with Him, unspotted, the fulness of Christ "who is filled all in all" in the fulness of time. In this sense the Pope refers to these beautiful words of St. Thomas: "Quia Ecclesia est instituta propter Christum, dicitur (in Ep. ad Ephesios) quod ecclesia

est plenitudo ejus : Christi, id est, ut omnia, quae virtute sunt in Christo, quasi quodammodo in membris ipsius ecclesiae impleantur, dum sc. omnes sensus spirituales et dona et quidquid potest esse in ecclesia, quae omnia superabundanter sunt in Christo, ab ipso deriventur in membra ecclesiae et perficiantur in eis ” (in Ep. ad Ephesios, i lect. 8) (cf. § 77).

We might sum up what we have said so far by appropriating a text : There remains the unity of faith, the unity of “ regimen,” and the unity of charity, these three, and the greatest of these is the unity of charity. Charity is the form of the virtues and in this sense it is the form of the unity of the Church.

By this I do not mean primarily man’s charity for God ; that would flout all the work done by the theologians in showing the essence of the Unity to be in grace. Grace is however the effect of God’s creative love in the soul ; it is God’s charity which makes the Church one by infusing into men’s souls this share in His supernatural life, bringing human creatures into the intimacy of the Trinity. This is given to us through Christ who thus gathers every member throughout the whole of life into an actual unity : “ By means of the beatific vision which He enjoyed from the time when He was received into the womb of the Mother of God, He has forever and continuously had present to Him all the members of His mystical Body, and embraced them with His saving love. . . In the manger, on the Cross, in the eternal glory of the Father, Christ sees and embraces all the members of His Church, and He sees them far more clearly, embraces them far more lovingly, than does a mother the child of her bosom, far better than a man knows and loves himself ” (§ 75). This is the divine $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$ that, freely given by God, makes us lovable and thereby alive in the intimate life of the Trinity. “ Christ in us and we in Christ ” because the Father so loved the world. (N.B. § 47 sequent.) The Pope makes this clear by treating of Christ’s claim to Headship as the source of light and holiness and as the upholder of the Mystical Body (§§ 47–57). The Word breathing forth love has created His Church in that breath of love. “ This Spirit of Christ is the invisible principle to which we must also attribute the union of all the parts of the Body with one another and with their exalted Head. . . He with His heavenly breath of life is the source from which proceeds every single vital and effectively salutary action in all the parts of the Body. . . ” (§ 55).

This $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$ is the heart of the New Law and therefore it

includes also the juridical aspect of the Church, which needs to be so carefully safeguarded against the increasing number of those who think they can love thus without first doing what they are told. Several times in the course of the Encyclical the Pope returns to the theme of the union of the juridical and mystical elements in the Church's constitution ; for there are many who conceive of obedience to God's commandments and the laws of the Church as flowing from the mystic union of love—"if you love me (meaning 'when you love me') you will keep my commandments." But, as we have seen, this unity of members with Christ is never perfect on this earth, must always be growing, through purification and nutrition. The member seeking union must begin by obeying external laws and fitting himself into the organization. The initial love which comes with the first influx of grace requires a careful training and strict discipline, overcoming the admixture of self-love and purifying motives by means of service. It is absurd to think that a group of well-wishers, standing about, looking in different directions and holding different views of life can, without more ado, be surrounded by four stone walls and covered with a lofty gothic roof and called a church. They must be regimented at first ; they must learn to listen and to obey ; to look the same way. "Our union in and with Christ arises *first of all* from the fact that, the Christian commonwealth being by its Founder's will a perfect *social* Body, all its members must be united by a common aspiration to the *same end*. . . and this must also be externally manifested, by the profession of the same faith, by a common use of the same sacraments, by participation in the same sacrifice, and by the practical observance of the same law" (§§ 68 and 69). The exercise of the moral virtues, particularly of the ascetic moral virtues, disposes the soul for increase in charity ; obedience, the greatest of the moral virtues, from which spring the acts of the virtue of religion, overcomes self-will and so disposes the soul for the union, the identification, with God's will which is charity. By following obediently the direction of the way mapped out, we can co-operate in the social Body, looking towards the same end and so growing closer together in love. The service of Religion opens the way to the friendship of Communion ; and it is only after training in Religious Service that Our Lord will fulfil His saying : "I no longer call you servants but friends." The danger in our work towards reuniting Christendom is

that we presume to start with a union of hearts; that is in fact impossible without the juridical preparation, the acceptance of the other two unities. (N.B. §§ 62 and 63, and compare St. Thomas on the "*New Law*"—I-II, 108.)

The discipline of religious worship which leads to the perfecting of love includes the essential means of salvation—the commandments and the sacraments, these must be imposed on the Universal Church by a single authority. All the rest may be left to local authority to determine, the form of the liturgy, the application of the laws of service; but it is always given to the people by means of authority to be obeyed (§§ 38 and 40). "Therefore the Bishops are not only to be regarded as more eminent members of the Universal Church . . . but each of them is also, so far as his own diocese is concerned, a true Pastor who tends and rules in the name of Christ the flock committed to his care" (§ 40). Christ left a great freedom in all that was not immediately concerned with the essential "regimen," but even this freedom is canalized by episcopal authority according to traditional rites and customs. It is here that the Pope's repeated pleas for mutual understanding should be remembered, as leading towards the full unity of charity, not presupposing the bond of love.

But the one Rule, apart from the Sacraments, which is not patient of localization, is the Rule of Faith—the unity which the Pope always puts first. It is the universal bond of all those who have the mind of Christ: "there is 'one Lord, one faith,' that faith by which we adhere to the one God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent . . . Christian faith binds us no less closely with one another and with our divine Head; for all we who believe 'having the same spirit of faith' are illumined by the same light of Christ, nourished by the same food of Christ, governed by the same power and teaching authority of Christ" (§ 70). And the unity of faith comes under the rule of the Vicar of Christ who is identified with the one Head in this teaching authority (cf. §§ 38 and 69). The Pope emphasises the need for one faith and one government. "Only those are to be accounted really members of the Church who have been regenerated in the waters of Baptism and profess the true faith, and have not cut themselves off from the structure of the Body. . . Those who are divided from one another in faith or government cannot be living in the one Body" (§ 26). And in this context it is useful to refer to a sentence which occurs later in

the Encyclical; speaking of non-Catholics the Pope says: "though they may be related to the Mystical Body of the Redeemer by some unconscious yearning and desire, yet they are deprived of those many great heavenly gifts and aids which can be enjoyed only in the Catholic Church" (§ 102).

We should of course beware of adopting an attitude more absolute than that of the Pope himself. Having accepted all this discipline of faith and the sacraments some are inclined to regard themselves as having achieved unity. Perhaps there might even seem a suggestion of this in the Pope's appeal to non-Catholics at the end of the Encyclical (§ 102). But the Pope is speaking as the visible head of the Catholic Church. The Father has a special duty towards the family under his care; but the individual member has no right to adopt an air of condescension. Christ is the Way and the Truth; the Mystic Christ is therefore the Truth; but the individual cannot equate his share in that Truth with Truth itself. In any case he must wait "Till we all meet in the unity of faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the maturity of the fulness of Christ" (Eph. iv, 13; cf. St. Thomas's Com. on this; and Thornton, pp. 307 sq.). And even the unity of faith is not ultimate, or at least it is not complete; it must give place to vision, and vision comes only with the co-operation of love. Meanwhile the individual must remain in the cloud of unseeing belief, seeking perfection through love which reacts on the mind through the gifts of the Spirit. He must be growing in this unity, and growth comes through love, as he is nourished by the sacrament of love.

Therefore the Pope urges a love of the Bride of Christ; loving her sacraments, her liturgy, her popular piety, her authority. . . But more than this we must have a practical love for the Body of Christ "as it manifests itself in this mortal flesh of ours, composed of frail human members, some of whom may be little worthy of the position which they hold in that venerable Body" (§ 91). We must also hold dear the weak and the sick (whether physically or spiritually), the young and the poor (§ 92). This love must be as universal as Christ's Himself who "in His Bride embraces without exception every member of the human race" . . . reconciling God with all men, held asunder by nationality and race, and bidding them come together into one Body. So "a true love of the Church requires . . . that in other human beings

not yet united with us in the Body of the Church we should see brethren of Christ according to the flesh called with us to the same eternal salvation" (§ 95). From this the Pope goes on to urge that this love must be active, pointing to the duty of *every* member to work for the "edification" of the Body of Christ (§ 97).

This is the most recent and perhaps the clearest echo of the *caritas* theme of St. Cyprian: *De Unitate Ecclesiae*. That theme has of course found scattered echoes before.

It would be useful to quote here the whole of the first section of St. Thomas's commentary on Ephesians, cap. 4. But space will permit only this brief extract: "Modus servandae unitatis est in vinculo pacis. Charitas enim est conjunctio animorum. Nulla autem rerum materialium conjunctio stare potest, nisi ligetur aliquo vinculo. Eodem modo nec conjunctio animorum per charitatem stare potest nisi ligetur; hujusmodi autem verum ligamen est pax, quae est . . . tranquillitas modi, speciei et ordinis, quando sc. unusquisque habet quod suum est. . . Quae quidem pax servatur per justitiam. Opus justitiae pax" (Eccl. 6). And St. Thomas goes on to apply this to the unity of the Body of Christ with its threefold type of unity.

We may now begin to understand why the Pope of Peace whose motto is "Opus justitiae pax" has chosen to outline the primary truths of the Church, the Mystical Body of Him who came to bring Peace on earth to men of good will. If we seek to grow into this unity we must drop the spirit of hostility, of the absolutism which divides, and adopt the spirit of peace-makers, lovers of all mankind in Christ's Body. If as soon as we feel ourselves in union we begin to develop an apologetic that is apoplectic, throwing fits when it meets any opposition, then we may easily fall out of union. Père Congar has summed up this matter at the end of *Divided Christendom* where he appeals for the right attitude of Catholics towards their "separated brethren" (pp. 261, sq.): "the cultivation of an attitude which is evangelical, fraternal and friendly, the outlook of a member of a great fellowship and not of a unit in a system." This follows from the central unity of love in the Church militant which has not yet reached its full stature, a theme clearly and accurately elaborated by the same author in the second chapter of that important work (it should in fact be read in the light of what the Encyclical says of the union of charity).

Finally the Pope concludes the central and positive exposition of the mystery with "a few words on the Most Holy Eucharist, through which that union reaches its culmination in this mortal life" (§ 80). This would seem to be the corner stone to the whole doctrine of the mystic union of the members in the Body of Christ, for there is an intimate relation between the Mystical Body and the Eucharistic Body of Christ which culminates in this union of mind and will in charity.

First of all there is the Eucharistic *Sacrifice*, in which "this wonderful and inestimable union, binding us with one another and with our divine Head, should find a special manifestation before the eyes of the faithful." This is the continuation, the renewal of the sacrifice of Christ's Body on the Cross, and it is principally a sacrifice of the Mystical Body, the Church. The priest is the mouthpiece of the Church, offering on behalf of the whole Mystical Body. "Per hostiam corporis Xti designatur oblatio invisibilis membrorum Christi in terris conversantium" (De la Taille, M.F. 329). The *raison d'être* of the sacrifice is that the whole Mystical Body throughout the total passage of time should be able to make its own the Sacrifice of Calvary. Here we have the outward climax of the juridical aspect of the Church. Not only is the whole procedure trussed up with the most minute laws and rules, demanding minute subservience to rubrical authority, but also the virtue of religion of which it is the most complete expression, is of its nature one of service, of obedience to law and of destruction of self-centredness. The Sacrifice of the Mass is the social act of the Church, the consecration of the Mystical Body of Christ to the glory of God. The common end of each individual is re-affirmed in this act of obedience, which continues the obedience unto death of Christ on Calvary. Speaking elsewhere in the Encyclical of the juridical bonds of the Church, the Pope says: "Here the end is most exalted; it is the continued sanctification of the Body's members for the glory of God and the Lamb slain for us, and the source is most divine; it is not only the *decree* of the Eternal Father and the earnest desire of Our Saviour, but also the interior inspiration and impulse of the Holy Spirit" (§ 68). All this is renewed at each Holy Sacrifice, drawing the social bonds closer together at each renewal.

Then the Eucharist as the Sacrament, the love feast, the sacrificial meal, the feeding of all on the same sacred food represented by the many grains of wheat and the grapes

brought together and drawn into the unity of this bread and wine, here indeed is the effective symbol of unity. The ultimate reality of the Eucharist, the result which is signified, the *res tantum* of the Sacrament, is the unity of the Mystical Body. The real presence of Christ's Body is not an end itself, but is the effective sign of the Mystical Body. The modern devotion to Christ's real presence often overlooks the essential fact that the Eucharistic Body of Christ is *Res et Sacramentum*. Certainly the Pope in this document has to curb the ardour of those who are trying through the liturgical movement to return to the more fundamental attitude to the Eucharist, by pointing out that we do pray to Our Lord as well as with and through Him (§ 88). Yet the truth remains that Christ gave His Body as food for His Body, rather than as the object of the members' adoration.

When we enquire more closely into this *Res* of the Eucharist which is the unity of the Body, we discover that it is in fact nothing less than love. St. Thomas in the earlier part of his treatise on the Eucharist speaks of the *Res* as this unity of the Mystical Body, but later in treating the nature of the effect he discusses it in terms of charity. Other sacraments give an increase of habitual charity, but this Queen of the Sacraments bestows an increase of actual love. Its effect may thus be described as the fire or *fervour* of charity, burning up each individual soul in the furnace of Christ's love, until it dissolves as it were into the being of Christ. The Blessed Sacrament, the Pope says, "gives to us the very author of supernatural grace, from whom we are enabled to draw that spirit of charity which bids us live not our own life, but the life of Christ, and whereby we love the Redeemer Himself in all the members of His social Body" (§ 82).

Here then in the Eucharistic Sacrifice are united the two elements which sum up all the paradoxes of this mysterious oneness in Christ and which the Pope is primarily concerned to reconcile, the juridical and the mystical. "*Sicut quippe corpus ecclesiasticum est res sacramenti eucharistiae, sic ejusdem corporis oblatio et dedicatio est propria res sacrificii Eucharistici*" (De la Taille, op. and loc. cit.). In the daily liturgy around the altar table of the Lord the individual members are drawn closer into the mystic unity; by the sacrifice they offer the service of obedience, the denial of their self-will, the satisfaction for their sins; by the Communion they receive the gracious uniting of their wills with God's will, prepared

by obedience, the unity of love. Here then is the kernel of the Encyclical, the mystery of love, expressed in the following somewhat lengthy quotation (§ 63): "We deplore and condemn the calamitous error which invents an imaginary Church, a society nurtured and shaped by charity, with which it disparagingly contrasts another society which it calls juridical. Those who make this totally erroneous distinction fail to understand that it *was one and the same purpose*—namely that of perpetuating on this earth the salutary work of Redemption—which caused the divine Redeemer both to give the community of human beings founded by Him the constitution of a society perfect in its own order, provided with all its juridical and social elements, and also, with that same end in view, to have it enriched by the Holy Spirit with heavenly gifts and powers. It is true that the Eternal Father willed it to be the 'Kingdom of the Son of His Love' (Col. i, 13), but He willed it to be a true Kingdom, one, that is, in which all believers would yield the complete homage of their intellect and will, and with humble and obedient hearts be likened to Him who for us 'became obedient unto death.' Hence there can be no real opposition or incompatibility between the invisible mission of the Holy Spirit and the juridical office which Pastors and Teachers have received from Christ. Like body and soul in us, the two realities are *complementary* and *perfect* each other, both having their origin in one and the same Saviour who not only said, as He breathed the divine Spirit upon the Apostles: 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' but also enjoined aloud: 'As the Father has sent me, I also send you,' and again: 'He that heareth you heareth me.'"

Within this mystery of love must lie the secret of the *coincidentia oppositorum* in the Church of Christ.

CONRAD PEPLER, O.P.

ST. AUGUSTINE AND THE EASTERN TRADITION

II. MAN AS PILGRIM.¹

ST. AUGUSTINE'S thought about man and society, and especially his great vision of the Two Cities expressed in the *De Civitate Dei*, has so often been studied and written on that there would seem to be very little possibility of adding anything new of any value by a further study so short and so little detailed as this one. An English writer must feel this particularly strongly because of the unsurpassable brilliance with which the subject has been dealt with within the limits of an essay by Mr. Christopher Dawson in his study, "St. Augustine and his Age," printed in *A Monument to St. Augustine* and reprinted in *Enquiries into Religion and Culture*, to which I wish to acknowledge my very great and indeed obvious obligations. All the same, I think the attempt is worth making, first because of the enormous richness and importance of the subject. For St. Augustine is the Doctor whose thought dominates the whole social teaching of the Catholic Church. It is he more than any other, who has formed the traditional Western conceptions of the proper relationship of Church and State, and more than that, of the whole nature of human society. Here, as elsewhere, his thought is a world within which all Catholic minds move even when they are not conscious of it; and this is true even of the mind of St. Thomas.

Then too, neither the thought of St. Augustine nor that of his immediate predecessors is altogether easy to interpret, and I think it may be possible still to find some new ways of looking at it and to introduce some necessary precisions, especially as regards the attitude of the Catholic Church in the East towards the State. It may also be helpful to readers more acquainted with the history of the Church than with that of pagan institutional religion, to suggest the lines on which an accurate comparison might be made between the pagan Roman and Christian Byzantine establishments of religion, and in general to see what light comparison and

¹ "St. Augustine and the Eastern Tradition, I," was published in the *E.C.Q.*, July-December, 1943, and a supplementary article on "Some Aspects of the Teaching of St. Athanasius and St. Augustine about the Blessed Trinity" in the January-March issue, 1944.—Editor.

contrast with late pagan ways of thinking will throw on the Augustinian and Byzantine attitudes to the empire.

The point from which I propose to start in considering St. Augustine's thought about the nature of man and society is his presentation of man as *in via*, as traveller, pilgrim, voyager, stranger in this world. It is an idea which seems at first commonplace enough because it is so rooted and grounded in the Scriptures and has entered so thoroughly into the common content of Christian thought that our very familiarity with it blunts our understanding of it. But when we consider it in its context in St. Augustine's thought, and understand all that it meant to him, we shall perhaps come nearer to understanding its full profundity and vitally important implications. St. Augustine does not see the traveller or the nature of his journey as others have seen him who have also thought of man as a stranger and sojourner in this world. For the pagan Platonists contemporary with St. Augustine, and their predecessors back to Plato himself, man was certainly an alien in the world of the senses, a divine being who had somehow fallen or descended from that higher world into the body and must complete the circle by returning, by his own efforts and alone, to the divine world whence he came. His journey is cyclic, in an eternal static universe, undertaken by himself and in his own strength, the strength of a being by nature eternal and divine. This conception of man and his spiritual journey has never been without influence in Europe, Eastern or Western, and its influence persists in many forms in our own day. Whitehead's *Religion is what a man does with his solitariness* and Berdyaev's insistence on personality as something absolute and uncreated, for instance, both suggest a way of thinking closely allied at some points to the Platonic.

On the other hand we have the Jewish conception of man's journey, as understood by orthodox Jews of the time of Our Lord. Here the whole picture is as utterly different as it can be. Instead of the rare returns of pre-existent individual spirits from the cyclic everlasting world in which nothing is ever new to the divine sphere to which they belong, we have the march of a people, Israel, freely created and chosen by God, through a history which is a straight line, not a cycle, which is a real succession of genuinely new events, towards a final earthly kingdom where the Messiah, the King anointed by God, and His chosen people, shall reign in temporal glory over all the peoples of the earth. Much of this conception

was of course necessarily taken over by the new Israel, the Christian Church. But there are certain important differences which are obvious, especially in the conception of the end, between the Christian and Jewish doctrines, and we can trace in the history of Christendom survivals of a Jewish way of looking at things which is not really compatible with Christianity. We can see it to a relatively slight and harmless degree in Millenarianism. We can see it, combined strangely with late pagan motifs, in the tendency to proclaim that the Kingdom of God on earth has already come in the sacred empire of Constantine, which we find in Eusebius, and in Charlemagne's identification of himself with the sacred monarchs of the old Israel. We can see it most vividly in the modern belief in a Kingdom of God on earth which we are just going to construct, a Jerusalem which we are going to build in England's green and pleasant land, whose main characteristic will be temporal success, prosperity and power (combined, sometimes, impossibly, with the highest spiritual achievement).

Against the background of these two conceptions of man's journey, the Platonic solitary cyclic adventuring of a god and the late-Jewish materialization of the Messianic hope of the Old Testament, we may set St. Augustine's conception of man's journey derived and developed from the New Testament and the common doctrine of the Church. He inherited of course a great deal that was, and still should be, common to all Christians. The Church presented herself to him as the New Israel, the people chosen and redeemed by God, having no permanent abiding-place in this corrupt world, but travelling straight through it, straight on through time to the final consummation when the Lord shall come again. And for him, as for all Christians, this present time, however long it might last, had a transitory and provisional character. It is only the interval between the first and second comings of the Lord, the pause for the gathering in of the redeemed. It is on this common foundation that St. Augustine builds his distinctive doctrine of man's life *in via*, of the City of God and its citizen pilgrims on earth, and the City of the Devil which is opposed to it.

First we should notice how, as in all his thought, he makes the whole process of the journey inward and spiritual, and refers it inward to the soul, according to the true spirit of Plotinus which he inherited so fully. God and the soul—

these are always in the centre of St. Augustine's thought, and all the external universe is only the setting for their encounter, the means of their conversation, the words of God speaking to man on earth and the means by which man answers God with his service. This inwardness of his thought shows itself in his doctrine about the nature of time. For him time is *distentio animae*, the extension of the soul.¹ The past is remembrance, the present attention, the future expectation. This "psychological" theory of time is as completely as possible opposed to the purely external pagan Greek view which made of time the "measure of motion" of the heavenly bodies, the measure of the cyclic movement of the eternal cosmos. Time is no longer an endlessly revolving wheel on which man is bound but something which man makes as he thinks. The succession of events in the temporal world is measured, and in some sense ordered, by the irreversible proceeding of souls towards their last end. It is because man is on a journey that he has to think temporally, that everything for him is mutable and transitory, and conversely it is his journeying which makes time. This is the first philosophical theory of time which was formed under the influence of the Christian revelation and was really congruous with it; and it played a great part in freeing men's minds from that sense of bondage to the eternal cosmic order with which the pagans of the later Roman Empire were obsessed (though a great philosopher like Plotinus might teach that in rare individual instances the soul of the philosopher could transcend the cosmic bounds and attain its freedom, that was not much comfort for the mass of men).

The destruction of the old type of cosmic thinking which made the cosmos a rigid and elaborate structure, eternal and divine in its own right, standing between man and a far removed First Principle, was one of the great achievements of patristic Christianity, and one to which St. Augustine contributed very greatly, not only by his transference of time from the cosmic to the psychological order but by the whole inwardness of his thought which makes of all material things a means of converse between the soul and God. He, more than any of the Fathers, sees the universe sacramentally; material things are nothing, fleeting and transitory in themselves, of infinite beauty and value as signs, gestures, words, signifying God to the soul. Man travels through a world

¹ Cp. *Confessions* XI, 23, 27, 28.

whose Heraclitean flow of fleeting nothings is "charged with the grandeur of God" as that very Augustinian poet, Hopkins, says. This way of thinking, where the nothing and the transitory is all the time being made the sign of the Eternal Beauty, lies at the very root of that union of extreme asceticism and loving respect for created nature, leading sometimes to a high mystical contemplation of God in things, which is one of the greatest glories of the Western Catholic Church.

It is interesting to compare St. Augustine's view of the cosmos with that of Origen in the *De Principiis*. Like St. Augustine, only even more rigorously, Origen makes the centre of everything God and the community of souls, and no more than St. Augustine does he fall back into the Platonic error of making the soul an independent entity which can be in some way set over against God. For Origen and St. Augustine, because they are Christians, souls are created, however much they may transcend other created things, and without God they are nothing. Origen, too, has a very clear conception of the great community of created spirits to which angels and human souls belong, the *Civitas Dei* of St. Augustine, and of the eternal order subsisting above the flux of the temporal. But the Gnostic pessimism with which Origen was infected, which made him believe that the whole material universe had been created after the fall of souls as a sort of purgatory for them, prevented him from arriving at anything like the sacramental view of the universe held by St. Augustine. For Origen complete disembodiment was the only state proper for a spiritual being, and even the sun was created as the penitential abiding-place of an angel who had sinned. His doctrine of reincarnation, too, and of the interminable succession of cyclic ascents and descents of souls prevented him from having St. Augustine's clear vision of the Church Militant, the New Israel in the wilderness, travelling the straight road of time to their goal in eternity. There is in Origen a distinct trace of the Platonic individualism. His primal community is that of the cosmos rather than the Church, a community of souls all going different ways, each working out its individual destiny through vast orbits of space and time. And there is, too, something of the Platonic superiority and exclusiveness about his conception of the Christian Gnostic. In Origen's too complicated universe the clear vision of primitive Christianity, of the company of pilgrims closely united in the Mystical Body travelling the irreversible

road to their transcendent city, is blurred and obscured. St. Augustine keeps it and brings out all its implications. It is possibly due to Origen's influence that we find in the East sometimes a combination of extreme individualism as regards the spiritual life with a willingness to accept a secular and political City of God on earth, a converted Empire which is almost (though never quite) a Church-State on the old pagan model. There seems a failure to realise that there is only one true and divine city, the City of God of which our whole spiritual life must be lived as citizens, and which is only present on earth as on the way, not as perfected, and only in the pilgrim and militant One Catholic Church, not in any earthly state. Of course there have been plenty of advocates of spiritual individualism and some sort of Church-State, sometimes in combination, in the West. But it has never penetrated into the central theological tradition, and for that we have St. Augustine to thank:

We must now turn to St. Augustine's doctrine of the Two Cities, expounded in the *De Civitate Dei*. The general outlines of his conception are well known, and I do not think that I can usefully add much to Mr. Dawson's admirable essay on St. Augustine's thought and its origins which I have referred to before. There are however one or two points which it will be worth dwelling on in order to see more clearly how the doctrine is related to the rest of St. Augustine's thought and to prepare the way for a precise contrast between St. Augustine's view of Church and State, which is the foundation of the authoritative teaching of the Catholic Church on this matter, and another, less precisely formulated view of their relations which has been on the whole dominant in the East and has persisted among many, even Catholics, in the West down to our own day. First, we can see how St. Augustine's definition of a people, "a multitude of rational creatures associated in a common agreement about the things which it loves"¹ and his famous doctrine that it was two loves which built the Two Cities, the love of God and the love of self,² express again the "inwardness" of his thought. Everything is referred back to God and the souls which He has created free; these are the principles of all movement, all action, all construction. The earthly and diabolic city is what it is because it is built by the perverted love of souls trying to

¹ *De Civ. Dei* XIX, 24.

² *De Civ. Dei* XIV, 28.

work for their own ends and for the attainment of limited, inferior, and selfish goods apart from and in contempt of God. The heavenly city is built, first by the love of God for us and then by our love of God which He supernaturally implants in us. For we must not forget that behind St. Augustine's thought about the Two Cities lies his whole doctrine of Grace. There is a way of stating the opposition of the Cities as being based on *our* love of self (which is indeed only too truly and exclusively *ours*) and *our* love of God, which almost makes St. Augustine a Pelagian! The truth of course is that St. Augustine saw the City of God in heaven and on earth as founded and built in Christ by Divine Grace, an altogether supernatural creation,¹ though by God's mysterious condescension requiring our free co-operation for its building.

It is when we come to consider the precise relationship of the Pilgrim Church, the Church Militant here on earth, and of the State, to the Two Cities, that we become aware of another great characteristic of St. Augustine's thought. This is his deep and exquisitely accurate sense of the nature and conditions of our present state, of the supernatural dignity and indigent misery of man as pilgrim. Our state is that of pilgrims and travellers, of men redeemed but still living in the unredeemed world, and with a hard road to travel and many fierce struggles to pass out of it into the fulness of our redemption (which we still may lose) and to take up our full and everlasting citizenship in the City of God in heaven. And St. Augustine insists on every detail and implication of this view of man. We can only cross the stormy sea of this world, he says, on a plank or ship, which is the Cross and the humiliation of Christ;² it is the Way of the Cross which we must go in this world; we are still humiliated and suffering with Christ, and not yet reigning with Him in glory. St. Augustine safeguards us very well against the exaggerated tendency apparent sometimes in the East and at the present time among some Catholics in the West, rather to push the Cross into the background, to forget that it is in a special way the sign of our present state, to make the Church Militant too exclusively a Church of the Resurrection, and to deprecate therefore too much emphasis on sin, on the price paid for our redemption in the blood and agony of Christ, on penance, reparation, and moral discipline, on our struggle with and painful separa-

¹ Cp. *De Civ. Dei* XV, 1 (on Cain and Abel) and elsewhere.

² *Hom. i n Joann.* II, 4; cp. *Confessions* I, 25.

tion from the world, and the uncertainty of our last end. To people who think like this St. Augustine's words to the philosophers in the passage referred to above may perhaps serve as an answer: "But why was He crucified? Because thou didst need the plank of His humiliation." There would seem to be some Christians to-day (to judge from what they say or write; in their inner life they may be different) who have, through a too exclusive and exaggerating meditation on the doctrines of Resurrection and Deification, acquired a spiritual complacency which would be excessive in the eyes of the most arrogant of second-rate Neo-Platonists.

When St. Augustine comes to deal with the Church Militant, its relationship to the City of God and its life here on earth, this accuracy of perception of our present state is very marked. As good a summary of his doctrine as any is the passage on Cain and Abel:¹ "Therefore it is recorded of Cain that he built a city, but Abel was a pilgrim and built none. For the city of the saints is above, though it has citizens here on earth, wherein it lives as a pilgrim until the time of the kingdom come, and then it gathers all the citizens together in the resurrection of the body and gives them a kingdom to reign in with their King, for ever and ever." It is the citizens here on earth, already citizens but not yet dwelling in their City, who make up the Church Militant. She is the representative in this transitory life of the Divine City, the eternal order, the stable and everlasting glory of the highest perfection of created being. St. Augustine is as vividly convinced as any Platonist, pagan or Christian, of the reality of this transcendent supra-temporal order and of its presence to us here and now, in this life, not merely as a hope for the future. The eternal Ideas in God's wisdom and the everlasting City of angels and men made perfect which He has created, are always there, behind and in the flux of temporal life. In his clear vision of this, St. Augustine differs from the Donatist originator of the doctrine of the Two Cities, and from Tertullian, and from the Millenarians. But he also sees and expresses something of immense importance which others, especially in the East, have not always seen. This is that the City of God and the Kingdom of Christ are only present in this life in the manner proper to it, appropriate to the life of pilgrims *in via*. "Christ," he says, "is coming all the time in His Church, that is to say, in His members, gradually

¹ *De Civ. Dei* XV, 1.

and little by little.”¹ But He will not come completely until the Last Judgment. Until then the Church on earth is incomplete, not yet made perfect in all Christ’s members, militant, suffering and struggling.

It is for this reason that, while the Church on earth is the representative, and the only representative, of the City of God, and is the Mystical Body of Christ endowed with a supernatural holiness, yet not all her members are holy or destined to attain to everlasting citizenship of that City; and also at any given moment there will be many destined citizens of the Heavenly City who are not members of the visible Church. These are truths on which St. Augustine insists repeatedly, recalling those parables of the Gospels, like that of the Wheat and the Tares, in which they are clearly taught. The state of the members of the Church visible and militant is in all respects a transitory and imperfect one. We are living in a sin-dominated world, and engaged in a continual warfare with sin and the devil, who has his subjects even within the visible Church (and any of us at any time during our pilgrimage may fall back into that diabolic allegiance). It is precisely because of this imperfection in our state and this continual intimate warfare with sin, which, like St. Paul, he so acutely realized and experienced in his own person, that St. Augustine emphasised so much the juridical character of the Church, the need of authority and discipline, of penal sanctions, and even in extreme cases the calling in of the secular power to use physical force against the recalcitrant. St. Augustine realizes and expresses as well as anyone the glory, the freedom and the love of the Heavenly City and its presence to us here and now in our redeemed life in the Body of Christ. But he does not fall into the delusion that we can live here and now as we shall live There, that the Church on earth can ever be a “Church of the Cherubim and Seraphim.” Christian love on earth has to express itself often in the form of authority and even of punishment.²

At first sight it is rather difficult to see what place is left for the state in St. Augustine’s doctrine of the Two Cities except to be the embodiment and realization of the Earthly City, the City of the Devil. But we must remember that St. Augustine, as a good Christian and a good Platonist, held the natural order to be thoroughly good, as the work of a

¹ *De Civ. Dei* XX, 5.

² Cp. *De Civ. Dei* XIX, 14, 16.

good Creator, though transitory, mutable, sin-ridden and devil-disturbed. No one ever praised better than he the beauty of the visible cosmos, the ordered harmony of number and rhythm in which the Eternal Wisdom expresses Himself. Furthermore, being a person of some considerable common sense and practical wisdom, he realized that there was a great range of natural necessities, temporal peace and order above all, common alike to Christian and pagan, saint and sinner, which could only be adequately provided for and safeguarded by political organization. There is therefore room in St. Augustine's doctrine for a good state, concerned with the administration of those natural goods which we need in our passage through this world, and even of a Christian state, an auxiliary society which can do much to help the Church Militant in her work.¹ And even when a state is evil, and can properly be regarded as belonging to the devil and the City of this world, yet we may still use the advantages which it brings,² and it can claim our obedience for such of its laws as are not in themselves contrary to the law of God, because the existence of the state as such is necessary to human life and therefore ordained by God; and even wicked states and the machinations of the devil himself are overruled and brought round by God's providence to good ends.

It remains true, however, that St. Augustine's view of the state and of man's political activities and the motives which inspire them is not at all an optimistic one. He rejects the Ciceronian definition of a state which would involve the conclusion that a true state must possess true justice, because if it were accepted it would be necessary to conclude that there had practically never been such a thing as a state in the world at all, so destitute are the normal political aggregations of any sort of justice.³ The non-Christian state for him belongs irrevocably to the City of the World and the Devil; even its apparent virtues are vitiated by a corrupt intention. And a study of his chapter on the happiness of a Christian Emperor⁴ will show how very exacting are the conditions which the Christian ruler has to fulfil in order to be considered genuinely Christian. A virtue only in the natural sphere, a mere compliance with the natural law, is not enough, even

¹ Cp. *De Civ. Dei* V, 24 (the Christian emperor).

² Cp. *De Civ. Dei* XIX, 26.

³ Cp. *De Civ. Dei* XIX, 21 ff.

⁴ *De Civ. Dei* V, 24.

if it were possible. In St. Augustine's thought there is no room for any intermediate kind of real, actually existing human life between the life of sin and the redeemed life of grace. The Christian Emperor therefore must be inspired and penetrated in all his actions with supernatural charity, which St. Augustine always presents as the motive force of all Christian authority, in Church and household as well as state.¹ He must keep the law of charity as well as justice in all his administration, and he must explicitly and publicly profess the Christian faith and co-operate in spreading it. All these conditions the Western Catholic tradition down to our own time has continued to regard as essential to a good ruler or government.

Even if the Christian ruler kept all these conditions perfectly (and there are very few in history who have even begun to keep them) there was something, claimed by the rulers of St. Augustine's time and by many since, which St. Augustine's thought could never allow him. This was the sacred character, the nimbus or supernatural glory of a special relationship to the divinity, which makes the state a Church and gives the ruler spiritual as well as temporal authority. There is no room whatever in St. Augustine's thought for a sacred emperor or a church-state endowed with supernatural holiness in its own right, any more than there is for a divine and eternal cosmos. In fact the two ideas of Holy Empire and Divine Cosmos are very closely connected. In the late Roman pagan world-view there was a definite correlation between the emperor on earth and the sun-god, head of the visible divine hierarchy of the cosmos. The older view, which correlated the emperor with Jupiter, head of the traditional Pantheon, reasserted itself with Diocletian, and was never altogether forgotten; but in either case the result was the same. The emperor was the representative of the Divine on earth, surrounded with supernatural glory: and in the One Holy State he and the proper priests appointed and controlled by him as Pontifex Maximus offered worship to the gods, the highest class of spiritual beings in state and cosmos alike. The empire, as its decay advanced, came to claim desperately a sort of eternity itself. So there were in the visible universe two fixed, enduring, unitary and correspondent orders. Only the rare mystic and ascetic, the sage, might in virtue of his self-generated power to develop the divinity of his soul, become free from the bondage of the

¹ Cp. *De Civ. Dei* XIX, 16.

state and the cosmos because of his utter indifference to all things temporal and material, and ascend within himself to the spiritual world, and even approach the almost inaccessible First Principle.

St. Augustine's thought utterly destroys all this false mysticism about the state. There is one way and one only for him whereby the state can acquire any sort of supernatural aura in its own right, and that is by making itself the servant and instrument of the supernatural powers of evil, as he believed that the pagan Roman Empire had done. The brutal matter-of-factness of his political theory has often impressed and sometimes shocked readers of the *City of God*. He eliminates all moral elements from the definition of the state, and educes its common bond to a common will, whether directed to good or evil, because he sees (and can we disagree with him?) that the common political purpose of rulers and subjects is generally more or less evil. He makes of the state, whether good or evil, a subordinate society procuring certain temporal goods, necessary but of secondary importance as regards the real end of life, for the pilgrim citizens of the One Holy People, that single and only society which bears in this world the only supernatural glory there can be in this world, the Mystical Body of Christ Incarnate, crucified, risen and to come in judgment. He puts the Christian empire thoroughly in its proper place, supplementing and completing the thought of St. Ambrose, the great Roman official turned bishop, who so magnificently asserted not only the Church's independence of the empire but her supremacy over it in spiritual and moral matters.

It is here of course that St. Augustine differs most decisively from the Byzantine tradition; and it is a point of difference of much importance, and with serious practical consequences, for in this matter the Catholic Church has authoritatively accepted St. Augustine's fundamental thought and developed it a good deal further. To express the difference between the two traditions in a rather crude metaphor we may say that St. Ambrose and St. Augustine knocked the sacred emperor's halo off so effectively that, though the rulers of the West with the help of their theological advisers (many of them good Catholics at least in intention) have been trying to pick it up and fit it on ever since, they have never been able to persuade it to stay on their heads with any sort of security. In the East the emperor's halo has never been effectively knocked

off. I do not wish the point I am trying to make to be misunderstood. The work of the ruler can of course be blessed by the Church and regarded by a Catholic as holy (like any other human work directed to good ends), and of peculiar and outstanding importance; but it cannot be given the aura of supernatural glory as of divine right, the sacral quality. That is reserved for the Church alone, and she even has it in this world only in the manner proper to her pilgrimage. The Catholic cannot dream of one holy society, supernaturally holy by right of nature, both Church and state, or in which Church and state are only different aspects of one thing. This destruction of the sacral quality of the state left room in the West for the eventual development of the Christian pluralism which recognizes even in the natural, subordinate order, many natural societies, distinct from the state, deriving their responsibilities and rights not from the government but directly from God.

Another way of expressing the difference between the two traditions is in their relation to that late-Roman pagan view of the state which I have attempted to describe. We may say that while the Church of Byzantium, the New Rome, remains essentially Roman in its outlook on the state, the Church of the Older Rome does not. It must not be forgotten, of course, that the Church of Byzantium was a Christian Church and for most of its history a part of the Catholic Church—a fact which some Western writers seem rather inclined to overlook! Therefore it defended its Orthodox faith against heretical emperors, with whatever weaknesses, yet with ultimate success. It preserved the sacraments and the liturgy, and the unchallenged right of only properly ordained ministers of the Christian Church to celebrate the liturgy: and there were not wanting bishops to stand up for the rights of their flock, like St. Basil, against the oppression of imperial officials. The best of the Eastern Christians of Byzantine tradition certainly held faithfully to and maintained one truth proclaimed by St. Ambrose: *Jus Caesaris non potest esse Dei templum*; but they do not ever seem to have seen quite clearly another one which has enormous practical consequences: *Imperator enim intra ecclesiam, non supra ecclesiam est*; and there have been many Western Christians and many Catholics who have seen this truth and its implications no more clearly than the Byzantines. It is then both unjust and uncharitable for Catholics to speak as if the Byzantine outlook on the relationship of Church and state

was simply identical with the old pagan outlook. Yet it remains true that the views of the state held in pagan Old Rome and Christian New Rome have more in common with each other than either has with the new, distinctively Christian world-view of St. Augustine, which in its essentials became the theological foundation of the authoritative teaching about Church and state of the Catholic and Roman Church—a teaching continually challenged in the West by Teutonic personages calling themselves Roman emperors and by national sovereigns drawing their inspiration from Roman Law.

The nature of the pagan Roman inheritance must not be misunderstood. The late Roman state was certainly sacral, totalitarian, unitary and absolute. But it was a state strictly bound by law, tradition, custom and precedent, and as such far less evil than the “fabulous and formless darkness” of modern evolutionary totalitarianism, for which all religious and moral law and custom are fetters to be ceaselessly broken through. The Roman state was especially strictly bound in the sphere of religion. The emperor as Pontifex Maximus might be religiously supreme, but he was bound to preserve the law of worship by which peace was maintained with the gods. And though he had considerable regulative powers over the *Jus Divinum*, especially where the acceptance of new deities was concerned, yet in the last resort it was the traditions of each particular worship which determined the form of the cult. Emperors who remained faithful to the Roman spirit, as the great majority of them did, could not change the ancient rituals, and though (like all ancient magistrates), they could act as priests on certain occasions, and appointed and controlled all other priests, there were many sacred functions they could not perform. The emperor could not be Flamen Dialis or Archigallus of Cybele¹; the empress could not be chief vestal; and the Flamen Dialis even had a certain ritual precedence over the Pontifex Maximus, though subject to his administrative authority. It is possible to see here a certain parallelism with the position of the Orthodox emperor, who must in order to be emperor be Christian and Orthodox (even if the court’s favoured creed was sometimes taken as the standard of Orthodoxy), and was never

¹ There was of course no law to prevent him being so, but there was a recognised natural incompatibility of functions; somewhat analogously there was no absolute bar to a Christian Emperor being consecrated bishop, but in practice no one dreamt of suggesting such a thing.

allowed to usurp to the smallest degree the sacramental and sacrificial functions of a Christian priest (though he might receive more than sacerdotal honours in the Church and exercise effective authority over bishops and clergy).

I have tried, however imperfectly, in this article to sketch the contrast between two views of man, cosmos, Church and state, whose continuing conflict has been of the greatest importance in the history of Christendom. On the one side we have the conception (modified under Christian influence but always recognizable) of the One Holy Society on earth, the sacral Church-state, which, especially in its Head, the Rex-Sacerdos, the Sacred Emperor or King, receives a special communication of divine sacredness and authority. This conception seems to me closely connected with the pagan conception of the divine and eternal cosmos, of which God is only the First Principle, not the Transcendent Absolute and free Creator from nothing. This conception has been on the whole the dominant one in Eastern Christendom and has been persistent in the West, though it has continually been challenged and has never been accepted by the Catholic Church. It should be noted here that the modern Russian theologians best known in the West are very far from accepting the "sacral-state" group of ideas. Their tendency seems to be rather to a different error, towards trying to drag down the Heavenly City and even its Father, the Absolute Being of the Triune God beside Whom even the enduring glory of the Heavenly City is only a shadow of light cast on nothingness, into the flux of becoming, and so again missing the proper tension of natural and supernatural in the life of pilgrim man and misunderstanding the nature of the Church.

On the other side is St. Augustine's great vision of pilgrim man and the universe through which he travels, and deriving from it, the doctrine of the Two Cities, of the Church Militant and Triumphant, and the proper place of the state. Here the static divine cosmos is broken up, and man moves through an ordered and patterned flow of shadow-beings, of which he himself is one, transitory and mutable, yet words and signs of God, nothings, yet of infinite value, because they carry in themselves broken and passing gleams of the Divinity. Above is the Heavenly City, the New Jerusalem, created, yet by God's grace not mutable, and bearing in those of her members already made perfect the fullest charge of supernatural glory possible for created beings. Below is the

Church Militant, the pilgrim Church, the representative of the Heavenly City, the assembly of her citizens, the Body of Christ still abiding on earth till the time of waiting is fulfilled. She bears the New Law, the revelation in final form of eternal truth, and she is the only society on earth who bears supernatural grace and the aura of supernatural glory, yet in the manner proper to her pilgrimage, the gleams of a spring sky or the lightnings playing in the darkness about the Cross, not the full and steady light of Heaven. She is the making present on earth of the Heavenly City, and in her the everlasting and the mutable are strangely conjoined. Beside her are secondary and auxiliary societies, states, transitory and changeable bodies, most often serving the devil and forming parts or embodiments of the evil Earthly City, sometimes trying to serve God and His Church in their proper sphere and station, and so attaining due honour: but always, overruled by God's providence, being brought round in the end to do the service for which they are allowed to exist and providing some necessary, though temporal and transitory benefit for the pilgrims of the City of God as they follow their dangerous but divinely guarded path to their last end, the completed glory of that City which lies the other side of the Last Judgment. To that glory I pray that all Christians of good will, and especially those who passionately disagree with this article and the conclusions which may be drawn from it, will come safely by the power of the Cross of Christ.

A. H. ARMSTRONG.

THE PAULICIANS¹

ABOUT the middle of the sixth century, a sect called Paulicianism made its appearance in the south-western regions of Armenia. It is very probable that the followers of this sect were called Paulicians because they considered themselves the true followers of St. Paul. There are two reasons supporting this view : (a) The content of their doctrine, which follows closely that of St. Paul, evidently in a distorted form, and (b) the fact that most of the leaders of the sect were called after the disciples of St. Paul, such as Sylvanus, Timothy and Tychichus, etc.

The sect was an anti-ritualistic movement, and had many doctrinal affinities with Marcionism. For this reason Paulicians were sometimes called Marcionites. Marcionites were the followers of the great heretic, Marcion of Pontus, who flourished about the middle of the second century. He became very influential and founded a separate Church, allegedly on the basis of St. Paul's teaching. The central theme of his doctrine was the Pauline antithesis of Faith and Works, of Law and the Gospel. He claimed to be a reformer (like Luther) and repudiated the Old Testament and the Jewish God, Jehovah. To do this, he had to accept only a selection from the books of the New Testament. Jehovah for him was

¹ The following books have been consulted for the preparation of this article :—

1. *The Paulicians*, by G. Ter-Mekertichian. (The Armenian translation from the German.)
2. "*The Book of Epistles*." (A Collection of letters on dogmatic problems by various Armenian writers since the fifth century ; in Armenian.)
3. *The History of the Armenian Nation*, by M. Ormanian, in three volumes. (In Armenian.)
4. *Against the Docetists and Against Paulicians*, by the Catholicos John of Ozoun (717—†728). (In Armenian.)
5. *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin*, by A. A. Vasiliev. Paris, 1932.
6. *The Key of Truth*. Translated from the Armenian by A. Conybeare, London.
7. *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, by W. Smith and H. Wace, London, 1900.
8. *Histoire du Moyen Age*, by Charles Diehl and Georges Marçais. Tome III. Paris.
9. *The Churches of Eastern Christendom*, by B. J. Kidd, London.

an inferior God, because He was the God of Justice and not the God of Grace. Jehovah was the creator of matter, which was evil. He created evil matter because He could not do better. The True God was the God of Love. He was the universal God of all, and not only of the Jews. The Decalogue was from the Jewish God, and therefore it was of no effect. This led Marcionites first to amorality and then to immorality. The phenomenon is significant; it recurs all along history, not excluding our own times.

Paulicianism has sometimes been associated with Marcionism, not only because the doctrines of the two movements had similarities, but also because the hot-bed of these two sects, though chronologically far apart, was almost in the same region, i.e., the region between Antioch and Lesser Armenia. Theodoretus, a great theologian and precursor of Nestorius, tried to convert the Marcionites of his times who were found in these parts. When St. John Chrysostom was a priest in Antioch, there were many Marcionites there. An Armenian author of the fifth century informs us of their existence even in Greater Armenia farther in the north.

But the affinity between Marcionites and Paulicians must not be regarded as that of continuity or of direct succession by discipleship. They were most probably independent expressions of the same spirit, reactions against the same tendencies in the Byzantine Church, and the results of the same cause. Besides, there are important differences between the two.

Paulicians were strong and zealous protagonists of a spiritual Church, and the movement was a reaction against the ritualism of the official Church. At the time when Paulicians began to attract attention and to cause anxiety, the Byzantine Church was indeed excessively ritualistic, and superstitious tendencies and practices were dangerously common. The reaction against external and formalistic religion has always assumed the same pattern which is common to all reformers from Marcion down to modern Protestants.

The history of Paulicians is very fragmentary. The ferocious persecution to which they were subjected has obliterated by far the greater part of the records of their activities. An Armenian Patriarch mentions the persecution of Paulicians in the middle of the sixth century by the decision of an important council of Armenian bishops. After that little is heard of them until the middle of the seventh century, when they

emerge again, this time much stronger and widespread in Anatolia and Armenia. In the eighth century they began to alarm the Byzantine Church leaders as a vigorous movement, and played an important rôle in the history of the time, particularly in the history of the iconoclastic conflict. They were the left wing iconoclasts, while the right wing was composed of the Emperor and the secular authorities and by an important group of the secular (that is, non-monastic) bishops of the Byzantine Church. In this left wing were probably merged all the sectarian elements in the so-called Monophysite Churches, Messalians, Enchites, and later Gnostics, forming a united front against the dyophysite Church, in which ritualism was carried to excess, especially among the common people. It is noteworthy that Paulicianism assumed considerable proportions and great importance precisely in that period when the eastern non-Greek elements in the Byzantine Empire, Syrians and particularly Armenians, were in the ascendancy and were playing an important rôle, holding high offices in the State and in the Church. Some of the most brilliant emperors of this period were Armenians. Bardas and John the Grammarian, who revived Hellenistic learning, were Armenians. Photius was an Armenian. These eastern elements were more austere in their religion and comparatively less ritualistic. In 692 the canons of a council of bishops of the Byzantine Church depict a sad story of immorality and perverted piety, not only among the people but also among the clergy. It was natural, therefore, that a revolt by more upright souls of comparatively purer spirituality should manifest itself. It was this revolt that assumed great proportions and threatened to flood the Church. Happily this flood was vigorously checked in time and left almost no trace of great destruction, as in a sense it did in the west in the sixteenth century. The great upheaval in the Western Church had its great beneficial effects for western Christianity alongside its disastrous consequences. The same can be said of the Paulician movement to a lesser extent.

Before entering into an exposition of the Paulician doctrine we must bring together what fragments we can find of the history of Paulicianism. It was the Emperor Constantine V who reigned from 740 to 775 and who was a violent iconoclast as well as a brilliant soldier and administrator, who first favoured and used Paulicians in order to buttress his anti-eikon policy. He brought great numbers of Paulicians from the

eastern Provinces, notably from Armenia, and settled them in Constantinople. Unlike many other sectarians in the history of the Church, these Paulicians were strongly militant heretics with a martial spirit. They were first-class soldiers and formed the flower of Constantine's army. The Emperor later brought more of them, whom he settled in Thrace, around Philippolis. Their duty was to defend the Empire against the Bulgars and the Slavs. Paulicians were so strong and widespread at this time, and were so important from a military point of view, that the government in Byzantium had to take them into account very seriously. An important part of the Armenians and Syrians in the army were Paulicians by inclination. Almost the same situation obtained during the reign of the previous Emperor, Leo the Isaurian (718-740).

The second Oecumenical Council, in 787, was occupied, among other more important things, with the "Marcionites," whom they accused of iconoclasm. These "Marcionites" were obviously Paulicians, called after the more disparaging name of Marcion. True Marcionites were already extinct long before this time. A few decades after this Council, at the very beginning of the ninth century, Paulicians are again spoken of, at the time of Nicephorus I (802-811), as being a strong element in Armenia, having at their head someone called Sergius. The Emperor Nicephorus I showed considerable sympathy with these Paulicians to whom he was personally grateful, having been helped by them to the enjoyment of the imperial throne which Bardas, another Armenian, had made a bloody effort to usurp. And Paulicians earned the sympathy not only of the Emperor but also of many influential personalities of high standing and many eminent men of learning.

Later a woman, the Empress Theodora, who inaugurated the reaction against the iconoclasts and finally triumphed over them and who was more concerned with the need to conciliate the monks than with the need to guard the frontiers of the Empire, issued a severe decree against the Paulicians. They were either to repent and return to the Church, or be killed right away. This ferocious woman caused the murder of 100,000 Paulicians in the year 844. Many of those who remained were filled with hatred, crossed the frontier and joined the Arabs, and with them turned against their persecutors. Ten years later, a military campaign had to be under-

taken against these rebels without yielding any results. So this silly woman threw the brave frontier-guards of the Empire into the arms of the enemies of the same Empire. The great Byzantinist, Bury, says that the persecution of the Paulicians was the greatest political disaster of the ninth century.

As to the Paulicians of the Bulgarian frontier, the Greek historian remarks that they always retained their connection with their co-sectarians in the eastern provinces, and, apart from their military duties, were busily engaged in sending missionaries among the Bulgars and winning converts to their religion among them, thus taking advantage of the feud between Rome and Byzantium. The step taken by Cyril and Methodius in translating the New Testament and the Liturgy was an imitation of the Paulician method of evangelization.

Thus when Byzantium restored the eikons, it became necessary to launch a crusade against Paulicians. But they could not be wiped out at once. They had turned from being servants of the Empire into being its dire enemies. In order to forestall this threat, Basil I, the great Emperor, organized a second campaign and gave battle against them in the region between Sebastia and Melytene, far back in the interior, in Lesser Armenia, and occupied their main stronghold, Tephrike, in 872. The leader of the sect at this time was Christoshir who was killed, and his head was taken to the Capital where Basil celebrated his great victory.

These heavy blows silenced the Paulicians for a considerable period, but in the tenth century, when they began to rise again, the Emperor John Chimishkes, himself a pure Armenian, deported great numbers of them into Thrace for the second time, in 969. Later the same Emperor transferred 100,000 of them into the regions of the lower Danube, to make of them a bulwark against the Bulgars and the Slavs. But Paulicians in the west did the same thing as those in the east. They joined the Bulgars and turned east against the Empire, making themselves a great nuisance to all the Emperors who favoured the eikons, according to the Greek historian Siculus. Apart from this, these Paulicians, extending themselves towards western Europe, gave rise to the allied sect of Catharians, while those who remained in Bulgaria became what was later called the sect of Bogomiles whose teachings were the same as those of the Paulicians. They seem to have penetrated even into Lombardy and France, where they were called

Poplikians.¹ Still later these sects were transformed and gave rise to "evangelical" or "reformist" movements and sowed the seeds of the great Reformation, as it is believed by some historians.

The eastern section of the Paulicians who lived in the north, eventually became weaker and weaker. They merged in the end with the obstinate remnants of the iconoclasts, and the new combination took the name of Thontracians in Armenia. These were mercilessly persecuted by the Armenian Church, but they remained in existence underground until they died out much later. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, their book, called *The Key of Truth*, was found. The English scholar, Conybeare, translated it into English, and rejoiced over it, since he found in it the religion of the precursors of Protestantism. Those who lived further south and had much earlier joined the Arabs as military allies, ended by being converted to Islam when persecution by the Byzantines made their separate existence impossible.

The Paulicians believed in God the Father, Who was Triune and Who reigned in the spiritual realm in the supraterrrestrial world. But the Creator, the God of the Jews, was only the God of this world. The real mother of God was the heavenly Jerusalem whence Christ had brought His body. He had brought it down to this earth, had passed it "through the Virgin" and in this way had made it visible and tangible. This idea, incidentally, is both Marcionite and modalistic. Those who thought that the Monophysites denied the humanity and therefore the body of Our Lord, considered it to be a

¹ Or Poplicans, which was the earlier name of the Catharists. The Catharists themselves have admitted that they had affinities with the Paulicians of Bulgaria and Dalmatia. (Warner, *The Albigensian Heresy*, S.P.C.K., p. 11.)

Crusaders and pilgrims came across Paulicians everywhere in the Byzantine Empire where they travelled. And the route of the Crusaders passed through Lesser Armenia. These Crusaders, disillusioned about the Roman Church, must have been the carriers of the Paulician ideas into the Western countries of Europe. In 1167, at a council near Toulouse, composed of Catharists, a Paulician "bishop" of Constantinople, called Nicetas, presided. (Ibid, p. 15.) This "bishop" instituted other "bishops," and was certainly regarded as possessing an authority to which all Catharists submitted, going even so far as to reconsider their doctrine to make it conform with that of their mother Church (ibid, p. 16).

In 1016, an Armenian anchorite in Rome was denounced as a heretic. This man was undoubtedly a heretic, Paulicianism being the heresy which sprang up in or around Armenia.

Monophysite doctrine. Probably the teaching of the Paulicians has made them think so.

The Paulicians also rejected baptism and indeed all the sacraments, and particularly infant baptism. "We don't need baptism," they said, "death is the only real baptism." They rejected the Eucharist and regarded Communion as only the remembrance of the Last Supper. They maintained that Our Lord's words uttered at the Last Supper were allegorical and referred only to ordinary dinner tables; it was the usual method of analogical teaching which Christ often used. They rejected the Priesthood, as indeed they would, after rejecting the other sacraments. In a word, they rejected the Church altogether, her authority, her hierarchy, her function, everything. They accepted Paul and rejected Peter. "We love Paul but we curse Peter," they used to say. "Moses has never seen God," they would also say, "he saw only the devil," the creator of this world, the Demiurge. The devil occupied an important place in their system (Luther also had a strong sense of the existence of the devil). One of the historians of the time says that the Paulicians used to practise sorcery in the desert. This last accusation must be regarded as doubtful; it was a common accusation to fling at any unpleasant person or sect. People used to ascribe the practice of magic and sorcery even to the great Patriarch Photius because they could not comprehend his learning.

The Church for Paulicians was that which was described by St. Paul. The state of the Church thus described was their criterion and the basis of their rules. The prophets as well as the saints were only the servants of the Creator God, of the Demiurge. They consequently repudiated the Old Testament. They used to say: "We accept the Gospel and the Apostle and we worship the words of the Gospel and not the book." By words they probably meant the sense or the meaning, or what we understand by the expression "the Word of God," as opposed to the veneration of the book as a sacred object, which was and still is a common practice in the Church. They were against the veneration of the Cross and they refused to bow down before it or put it up in their assemblies. It was a mere symbol for them.

They were very much against monasticism; for them there was no difference between a priest or a minister and a layman. But they had a class of what they called the elect, in the choice of which they were very strict, discriminating and careful.

They used to accuse the Church of having made the reading of the Scriptures a privilege of the clergy. This was against the Roman policy, which insisted on Latin for the sake of conformity. They rejected abstinence and particularly fasting.

The Paulicians were fierce opponents of the eikons and the iconoclastic movement must have owed a great deal of its strength to Paulician influence. But while iconoclasm was a negative movement, intended to prevent certain time-honoured usages in the Church, Paulicianism was positive and radical. It had the presumption to claim that it met the demands of the Christian Faith and the true religion, in reaction to the prevalent usages of the time. But in spite of this, Paulicianism has never been an organized institution; it has been and has always remained only a movement, a force of reaction.

One of the fathers of the Armenian Church writes in the twenties of the eighth century that: "They (the Paulicians) proceeded from iconoclasm to crucicism, and then passed on to the hatred of Christ, and thence to atheism and to devil-worship." The connection between iconoclasm and Paulicianism is indeed significant. Again, it was a trait of Paulician thought which the Emperor Constantine V showed when he suggested in the iconoclastic council of 753, that the veneration of the Holy Virgin and of the saints should be prohibited.

The strength of the Paulicians lay in the fact that the anti-ecclesiastical and anticlerical forces of the period were released and joined hands with this spiritual sect, and, encouraged by the imperial authority, tried to administer a blow to the ritualism of the official Church. Thus the clergy of the Church were considered by these reformers to be man-worshippers and idol-worshippers, while the clergy regarded them as being Manichaeans (with whom the Paulicians were sometimes wrongly identified) and modalists who denied the reality of Our Lord's human life and regarded it as only an appearance.

Pictures had their opponents also in other quarters. Some staunch Monophysites regarded eikon-worship as the thin end of the wedge of the Chalcedonian doctrine. One of the Armenian Patriarchs of the second half of the tenth century has been blamed by a writer of the same period as "introducing pictures into the Church in order to renew the Chalcedonian doctrine." Another Armenian Patriarch, at a much earlier period, about the end of the sixth century, has identified the veneration of eikons with the doctrine of two natures. Still another Patriarch at the end of the tenth century did the same.

Until the thirteenth century iconoclasm had its protagonists in the eastern provinces of the Empire. Thus it is readily seen that Paulicianism, iconoclasm and so-called Monophysitism had considerable connections with one another. It may probably be said that Paulicianism is another form of reaction against a misunderstood Chalcedonianism. It is very significant that the Paulicians, though they vigorously repudiated Manichaeism, have been insistently accused of being such. This is more than just a common and meaningless use of a term of abuse. Their dualism, in asserting a very sharp distinction between matter and spirit, between the visible and the invisible, and particularly between man and God, made them tend towards a position similar to that of the Manichaeans. Exaggerated spiritualism (as distinct from spiritism, i.e., ghost hunting), has always been inclined to minimize and to disregard the significance and the value of matter and body, and of the sensible things in general. This has bred indifference towards the things of this world, and in the end has resulted in a kind of religious cynicism, producing the idea that whatever you do with your body is immaterial and cannot harm your spirit; the Paulicians themselves could not have been an exception to this rule. This process is the result of misunderstanding passages such as the following in the Apostle or in the Gospel: John iv, 24, "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship in spirit and truth," or John vi, 64 (A.V. vi, 63); "It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing"; I Cor. vii, 29, "Those that have wives may be as though they had none"; I Cor. vii, 19, "Circumcision is nothing, and incircumcision is nothing"; Rom. xiv, 4, "Let every man abound in his own sense" (A.V., "be fully persuaded in his own mind"); Mark ii, 19, "As long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast," etc.

This cynicism has led many extreme spiritual sectarians to immorality, and particularly to sexual licence. Even making full allowance for the baseless and cheap accusations of adversaries against Paulicians, who started as reformers and upholders of the "worship in truth and in spirit," it is pretty certain that they gradually degenerated from the moral point of view and for that reason were completely lost in the end.

Paulicianism was in essence only an anti-ritualistic movement. All such movements eventually tend to the denial of the Incarnation. This natural process is also seen in Protestantism. Unitarians, Christian moralists, and a host of

other trends in modern Christianity are the logical outcome of the original character of the Reformation. The militarism of the Paulicians also has its parallel in the activities of Protestantism. It is not without reason that those Paulicians who lived in the south and were in contact with Mohammedanism, were easily lost among the Mohammedans, because Islam is a non-sacramental religion.

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CHRONICLE FROM THE MIDDLE EAST

We are not venturing on any chronicle of the Near East at this stage of the war in Europe. Some comment on the Orthodox Church and the Balkan crisis, in view of reunion, may be read in The Tablet, November 18th, 1944. For the following we are mainly indebted to Dom Benedict Morrison and Father Austin Treamer, A.A., both resident in Syria and Palestine.—Editor.

The whole of official Orthodoxy in the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem recognized the late Patriarch Sergius of Moscow, and after his death a solemn liturgy was celebrated for him in Beirut. The people follow the lead of the hierarchy in this, with the exception of the Russian community in Palestine and elsewhere in the *diaspora*, who consider that the election of Sergius was invalid, and recognize only the Synod of Karlovtsy.

As a counterpart to the J.E.C. (*Jeunesse Euclyenne Catholique*); the Orthodox of the Lebanon have founded the M.J.O. (*Mouvement de la Jeunesse Orthodoxe*). The members of this society nourish their religious thought with French translations of Russian theological literature, especially the works of Father Bulgakov.

Mgr. Salihy, Orthodox bishop of Beirut, began sending his seminarists to the American Protestant university in that city, but the students eventually abandoned their intention of receiving the priesthood. On the other hand, the Lord Elias Karam, Orthodox bishop of the Lebanon, whose sympathies

for the Catholic Church are well known, desired to send his seminarists to the Jesuit university of St. Joseph in Beirut. This, however, was not accepted by the three Orthodox patriarchates which, at a meeting held in Egypt, decided on the foundation of an inter-patriarchal seminary. This project has not yet been carried into effect.

The dissident Armenian katholikos of Sis (who resides at Antelias on the coast north of Beirut) has sent ten of his seminarists to the University of St. Joseph. We have also been informed that one or two professors at the Jacobite seminary founded by the present patriarch at Zahlé (in the Lebanon, south of Baalbek) are Maronites.

The relations between Catholic and Orthodox bishops in Beirut are good. Similar friendliness is to be observed in Egypt, where the principal Catholic organs of this rapprochement are *Le Rayon* and *Le Lien*.

On January 15th, 1944, the titular metropolitans Denys Kfury, patriarchal vicar, and Cyril Rezk, great counsellor of the Catholic Melkite patriarch, went to Hamzawi to assist at the thanksgiving service of the Lord Christopher, Orthodox patriarch of Alexandria, on the occasion of the arrival of the Orthodox patriarch of Antioch, Alexander III Tahhan. In the Lent, 1944, issue of *Le Lien*, there is an account of this visit to Egypt by the patriarch Alexander. The event is hailed with satisfaction, and the account includes an outline of the patriarch's career. On January 31st, the Lord Cyril IX, the Catholic Melkite patriarch, went to Hamzawi, accompanied by his auxiliary, Metropolitan Peter Medawar, the protosynkellos Efthymios Saba and Father Joseph Tawil, to visit the Orthodox patriarch Alexander. The visit was returned on the following day by the Orthodox prelate. On Sunday, January 23rd, Alexander celebrated a pontifical liturgy in the church of the Holy Archangels at which were present representatives of nearly all the Christian communities, as well as of the diplomatic corps. In an address, the patriarch said that he had celebrated the liturgy for the peace of the world and the union of the churches.

Further reference to this visit is made in the Easter, 1944, issue of *Le Lien*, which contains the description of a dinner given in honour of the visiting Orthodox patriarch by the Catholic patriarch. An address on charity was read on behalf

of the Catholic patriarch protosynkellos, Efthynius Saba, which was received with great appreciation. In his reply, the patriarch Alexander spoke of the need for unity among Christians, ending: "We are now in the period of betrothal; let us hope that the marriage will not be long in following and that there will be one flock and one Shepherd." In a footnote to this last sentence, *Le Lien* says: "It is obvious that these last words of his Beatitude the Patriarch Alexander express nothing else than the profound and general desire of Christians to see their divisions cease."

On Monday, December 13th, 1943, there died Mar Emmanuel Phares, Maronite bishop of Tarsus and patriarchal vicar for Egypt and the Sudan, who at one time was in charge of the Maronite Church in Paris. On January 9th, 1944, a requiem liturgy was celebrated for him in the Maronite cathedral to which the King of Egypt sent a representative. Father John Toomé, director of the Maronite school of St. Joseph, has been appointed vicar in succession to Mar Emmanuel.

On Maundy Thursday, April 6th, 1944, Father Albert Valeusin, S.J., died at Beirut. Father Valeusin was well known for his sympathy with the Christian East and his understanding of the problems of reunion. He spent the last years of his life in the Lebanon.

His Beatitude Misrob Nishanian, dissident Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem, died at the age of 72, on July 27th, 1944. He had succeeded Thorgom Kuchakian and was the third dissident Armenian patriarch to be confirmed in office by a king of England.

Mar Philoxenos Ya'qub, Jacobite archbishop of Jerusalem, died on August 13th (new style), 1944, after an operation for cancer.

From the issue of the *Bourse Egyptienne* dated July 12th, 1944, we learn that the Coptic Egyptian mission on its return from Addis Ababa submitted a report to the president of the council of the Coptic Church. It was expected that the council would meet in a few days' time to study the report and to take measures according to the instructions given by the prime

minister. In an article on the Coptic Church in *News Review*, the opinion was expressed that a "civil war" is taking place in the old Christian church of Egypt. In connection with this, the Coptic patriarch, Amba Makarios, stated that the difficulties of his church were increasing in these hours of tribulation. According to the *Review*, two tendencies may be discerned among present currents of opinion: the insubordination of certain bishops and priests, and the determination of the Church of Ethiopia to appoint an Ethiopian prelate at its head.

Father Vladimir Flack, of the Ukrainian eparchy of Lwow, was ordained deacon on June 11th, and priest on June 18th, 1944, in Beirut by the Lord Maximos Sayegh, Catholic melkite metropolitan of that city. The Polish authorities, who had defrayed the expenses of Father Vladimir's seminary education, assisted officially at his ordination.

On Sunday, June 11th, 1944, the feast of St. Cyril of Alexandria in the Byzantine kalendar, his patron, the Lord Cyril IX, Catholic Melkite patriarch of Antioch, celebrated the divine liturgy in his cathedral in thanksgiving for the protection granted to the City of St. Peter, centre of the Catholic Church, and that Almighty God might have mercy on "his world" and on the many peoples of east and west who are so sorely tried at this time. The fifteen hundredth anniversary of the death of St. Cyril of Alexandria was the occasion of a fresh appeal for unity from the Holy See. This appeal was favourable received among certain Copts, headed by Father Sergius, of Kolaly, a friend of the patriarch. Apparently there was no reaction to it on the part of the Coptic prelates, the two archbishops remaining silent apart from exception taken to the expression in the encyclical about reunion under the presidency of the Pope. Father Sergius himself found a new element in the appeal which could serve as a basis for convoking a council or conference of the Eastern and Western churches: that new element was the state of the world at this time and its attitude towards the churches in general as referred to by the Pope; it would not be simply a question of submission to the Pope's authority, and the appeal must be received to-day in a new spirit and with new ideas. It could be expected that the Holy See would submit a formula for reunion which would safeguard the individuality, liberty, dogmatic

beliefs and traditions of the Eastern Churches. Father Sergius further dealt with the matter in his paper, *Le Phare de Saint Marc*, advocating reunion as a guarantee of the stability of the Church against the forces of irreligion. *La Bourse Egyptienne* thinks the silence of the archbishops a good sign. Father Sergius has approached the Catholic Copts and is working for reunion by meetings with members of the clergy, etc. (issue of September 23rd, 1944). The Arabic review of the Orthodox patriarchate was opposed to the Pope's appeal. The Syrian reaction was, however, kinder.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

Death has recently deprived us of three great churchmen and workers in the field of Christian unity. In our last issue we gave some account of the life and work of Archbishop Szepticky, to whom we also refer to on another page. In 1936 he wrote blessing the work of the *E.Q.C.*; may he still pray for us. In Dr. Temple not only has the Anglican Church lost a great leader, but he will be a loss to the whole Christian world; in the œcumenical movement and social questions he was a fearless Christian thinker. The third was the arch-priest Sergius Bulgakov. He was as one of the old prophets, a seer into the things of God. He too was a friend of our work and of all work for Christian unity. We hope on some future occasion to give a critical appreciation of his theological work. May they all three rest in peace.

THE ENGLISH LITURGY SOCIETY

This society has been "formed to promote, so far as the teachings of the Catholic Church allow and subject to episcopal sanction, a greater use of the vernacular in the public prayers, the rites and ceremonies of the Church and the administration of the sacraments, to the greater glory of God and the sanctification of souls." The president is the Rev. H. F. Davis, D.D., of Oscott College and the vice-president the Rev. A. W. Valentin. The first number of their bulletin (*The English Liturgist*) has been issued. All correspondence, we understand, should now be addressed to the Rev. S. J. Gosling, Alton, Stoke-on-Trent. We wish the society all possible

success. It should prove an important factor in the work of Christian unity.

Though it does not necessarily represent the English Liturgy Society's views, the first production of the society may be said to be the reprinting of Mr. Donald Attwater's article from the *Dublin Review* (April, 1944), "In the Beginning was the Word," this being a plea for English words in the worship of the Roman Church (from Dickinson, 5, Wardrobe Place, E.C.4. 6d.). There has been a reply in the October issue of the *Dublin Review* from Dom Alphege Shebbeare, entitled "The Liturgy and the People." Certainly Dom Shebbeare's answer made us re-read Mr. Attwater's paper, but only to be the more impressed with the validity of its argument. This does not mean that it would be plain sailing if it were adopted; it would in many ways be but the beginning of difficulties, yet we consider that it can be only on these lines that some solution of the problem can be come by. Yet it is far more important than a local problem of English-speaking Catholics and it is best viewed in the light of the Universal Church. As an historical problem Professor Dvornik refers to it in the pages of his *National Churches and the Church Universal*. This had appeared in the *E.C.Q.*, July—December 1943, and has now been reprinted by the Dacre Press, Westminster. The reprint has in addition some six pages which deal with a bibliography, a valuable postscript. The Byzantine solution of the language question demands a careful consideration on its own merits. Here the tendency is for the liturgy to be in the vernacular or in an archaic form of the spoken language. Two cases of the former are the use among Orthodox and Catholics of the Byzantine rite in Rumania and in Syria, Palestine and Egypt where Arabic is the language used. We are also told on good authority that Old Slavonic and Church-Greek is to the ordinary Slav and Greek somewhat as Prayer-Book English is to the English, i.e. it can be and is understood by ordinary people if they learn something about it at school and are regular in their attendance at public worship. The liturgy is normally sung. These facts are worth considering when we are trying to solve the problem as to the best way English Catholics can lift up their hearts and minds to God at Mass, by "praying the Mass" as Pope Pius X was so constantly urging Catholics to do.

THE CHURCH UNITY OCTAVE

(January 18th to 25th.)

More than ever there is need of united Christian prayer *that we all may be one*, that the world may believe. God is one. Christ came into this world and died that we might be one through and in him with God. We have grown accustomed to Christian disunity and we rest content with it. We must pray for a change of heart, a realization of the sin of schism; and this does not mean a compromise in matters of divine faith but a humble willingness for the Holy Spirit to work in us and with us that there may be, by his grace and our work, one visible universal Church here on earth. Mary, the mother of the Mystical Body of Christ, will help us and teach us if we ask her. The following literature will help to show the need of taking part in this octave of prayer:—

1. *Rules and Customs of Churches concerning Intercommunion and Open Communion.* (World Conference on Faith and Order, January, 1944.)

Here are statements based as far as possible on official teaching. It has been collected by or sent to Canon L. Hodgson (secretary of the continuation committee) from fifteen different Christian religious bodies. The only orthodox church mentioned is that of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. The patriarch says that it is the general rule not to allow non-Orthodox Christians to go to communion in Orthodox churches nor for Orthodox to communicate at the churches of other Christians. The Armenian archbishop Indjeian allows both. There is no reference to the Catholic discipline.

2. *The Conspiracy to Unchurch the Church of England*, by Alban Baverstock.

This purports to be a "showing-up" of the work of the Church Assembly in placing the Church of England under the control of statute law instead of canon law.

3. *Shall the Twain Meet? The Blood is the Seed. Islands of Christianity in the Rising Moslem Sea.*

These are all published by the Catholic Near East Welfare Association and can be obtained from 480, Lexington Avenue, New York City. The first two set forth the objects of the

association and place the importance of the work of the reunion of the Eastern Churches with the Church of Rome very well. They are excellent short pamphlets dealing with most sides of the problem. The third deals with the problem of the Christian minorities in the coming Arab world.

THE *EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY* CONFERENCE IN OXFORD

December 8th to 10th.

This will be fully reported in the next two issues of 1945.

U.S.A. AGENTS

Through the kindness of the Rev. Thomas J. McMahon, the offices of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association (480, Lexington Avenue, New York City) will become the *distribution centre of the E.C.Q. in the U.S.A.*, and their staff will deal with our review. We are very grateful, and see in this our Lady's help and protection.

Dom Polycarp Sherwood, monk of St. Meinrad's, Father Andrew Rogosh, and the secretary will form a U.S.A. advisory committee to the review.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Church and the Papacy. A Historical Study. Being eight lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, in the year 1942, on the foundation of the Rev. John Bampton, Canon of Salisbury. By Trevor Jalland D.D., Vicar of St. Thomas the Martyr, Oxford. (S.P.C.K.) 1944. 25s.

This lengthy work by a Protestant divine on the history of the Papacy is an arresting study of a very vast and complex subject. The author, always very much alive to the issues of which he treats, lays before his readers a scholarly and well weighed presentment of the opinion of many present-day historians and divines outside the Roman obedience on the development and actual extent of the papal prerogatives. For this, as well as for its other merits, the book deserves close examination and careful analysis. Unfortunately, full justice cannot be done to it in the few pages of a review ;

another book of a similar size would be required to follow its arguments point by point whether in agreement or disagreement. The book has no systematic bibliography, but the footnotes often more than compensate for this.

Dr. Jalland opens his subject with the well-known episode of Bishops Dupanloup of Orléans and Haynald of Kalocsa in Hungary travelling in Northern Italy on July 18th, 1870, the day of the solemn definition of Papal Infallibility, and lamenting the fact, in the author's interpretation of the conversation, they had not opposed that definition as much as they ought to have done. As a counterpart to this episode may the present reviewer narrate another which took place in Rome during the early stages of the Vatican Council? It took place at San Callisto in Trastevere and the protagonists were the redoubtable Archbishop Ullathorne of Birmingham and his great friend Bishop Salvado, the Founder of New Norcia in Western Australia. The latter held a unique position among the Conciliar Fathers. By birth a Spaniard, by monastic training an Italian, British by naturalization and domicile, a Benedictine by profession, he not only represented in his own person several nationalities but was in friendly relations with fully one fourth of the members of the Council. With characteristic bluntness Ullathorne was airing his views about the Council and prophesying in no ambiguous terms: "The definition of the Pope's infallibility will offend all Catholics." To which statement Salvado gave answer: "That depends, my Lord Archbishop, on what you mean by 'Catholics.' If you mean a small group of dissentients in Germany, England and a few other places, I quite agree with your Grace; if you mean Italy, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, most of France, Belgium, Austria, South America, and even most of Catholic England, most of Catholic Germany and the majority of Catholics in the United States and a score or so other nations, I do not think I can agree. The Catholics in all these nations will eagerly welcome and cordially endorse the Dogma of Papal Infallibility." Subsequent events fully justified Bishop Salvado's prediction. It is opportune to record this episode, since historians, mainly those outside the Pope's obedience, make much ado about the few who resented the Definition and seem to forget the millions who were clamouring for it. Indeed, when one ponders over the doings of a few of the Prelates attending the Vatican Council, one has good reason

to apply to them St. Jerome's words: *Puriores sunt aures populi labiis Sacerdotum.*

After his opening lecture on "The Modern Papacy and the Problem of the Church" (pp. 1-46) Dr. Jalland passes in review the literature dealing with the development of the Pope's unique position in the Christian Church from St. Peter to the present time. He gives 313 pages (47-359) to the first six centuries and 134 (360-494) to the other fourteen centuries of Church History. This is done with full premeditation for, as the author tells us in the Preface (p. vii) he aims at giving "a survey of the relations of the Papacy and the Christian Church, paying particular attention to their character within the first six centuries." The most masterly of the lectures, in the reviewer's opinion, is number V, "The Papacy and the Later Roman Empire" (pp. 265-359), which includes the story of the Papacy under Popes Leo the Great, Innocent I, Gelasius I and Gregory the Great. The Catholic reader will peruse these pages with general agreement, even if he cannot see his way to subscribe to certain minor statements and views.

In lectures II and III, which cover the testimonies of the first three centuries, the author evidently endeavours to be fair; but in this he fails more than once owing to his pathetic dread of offending the reputed scholarship of modern rationalistic historians. "Modern Scholarship" seems to be Dr. Jalland's nightmare. This is a pity, since in several cases what is termed "Scholarship" is merely a series of acrobatics performed with much self-complacency on the trapeze of inadequate documentation and historical events of which our knowledge is still very obscure. The author discusses the *Tu es Petrus* of the Gospel of St. Matthew, St. Clement's Epistle, St. Ignatius' greeting to the Romans, St. Irenaeus' *potior principalitas*; and similar texts of early Christianity with meticulous care; but perhaps there will be some who think that he takes too much notice of novel interpretations, suggested emendations or new translations proposed by modern writers with the evident aim of weakening the force of the texts as arguments for papal pre-eminence. The author himself, however, when summing up the result of his researches, gives in most instances a view which either coincides with or approximates to the traditional view of Catholic Theologians. Thus in treating of the meaning of *ἐκκλησία* in primitive times (p. 46) he says: "From the foregoing evidence only

one conclusion seems possible, namely, that ἐκκλησία signifies in the first instance the totality of the Christian fellowship, and only secondarily serves to describe a community domiciled in a particular locality." Again, as regards the *Tu es Petrus* (p. 64): "Our survey is now complete. With the evidence before us it is difficult to imagine that there can be any satisfactory final conclusion but one, namely, that the extensive authority assigned by anticipation to St. Peter in the *Tu es Petrus* is amply supported, and that consequently any argument against authenticity on the supposed ground of its uniqueness must necessarily collapse. . . It is Simon the Rock alone whose attitude appears to possess a certain finality, and from whose decision there would seem to lie no appeal." On St. Peter's residence in Rome (p. 69) " . . . a decidedly favourable verdict ought to be given not only the Petrine texts, but also the tradition of the Apostle's residence and death in Rome." On the hierarchical status of the Roman Church (p. 83): "In view of the testimony already advanced and of inferences which, as we hold, may reasonably be made from it, we should claim that of 'presbyterianism' in the proper sense in the early Roman Church there is absolutely no trace." Of Clement's Epistle (p. 103): "It might not be unreasonable to infer from these words that the Roman Church was already conscious in some degree of external responsibility. . ." On the Papacy during the second century (p. 106): "It was apparently in Rome that Christianity persisted in locating its primatial centre. . . Only when questions began to arise, did it become necessary to show that the primacy rested not on the secular greatness of Rome but on the traditional and as we believe, historical connexion of the Roman See with St. Peter, the supposed heir of a peculiar Dominical privilege." After recording the attempt of the Gnostic heretics Valentine and Marcion to win the favour of the Roman See (p. 109): "Thus in a negative no less than in a positive direction there are strong indications that *de facto* if not *de jure* the Roman See was being treated as the universal referee and its doctrine as the norm." On page 123: "We have considered the significance of the evidence to be found in the second-century literature on the question of the relation of other churches and non-Roman Christians to the Roman See throughout the period. Briefly summarized, it can be described as the recognition of that See as in some sense the 'norm' of the whole of existing Christendom. It may be viewed as a

‘primacy of normality,’ particularly in the sphere of doctrine.” On page 183 : “In view of what has been said, it is as unreasonable to expect to find the bishop of Rome exercising jurisdiction, universal or otherwise, as to exclaim at its absence, during a period in which the bishop’s office was essentially doctrinal, liturgical and sacramental. Only when we see bishops generally beginning to act as judges have we the right to expect similar evidence of the Roman bishop exercising analogous authority. It is certainly not lacking in the fourth century.” A few pages further on (p. 213) the author gives a conspicuous example of such exercise : “It is doubtful whether even Julius himself entirely realized the tremendous significance of this invitation [from the Pope to the Eusebians to come to Rome to make out their case against St. Athanasius in person]. For if he had wished, he could not very well have asserted in a more unequivocal fashion a primacy of jurisdiction for his See, which now emerges for the first time into the daylight of history.” In this way, in chapter after chapter, we find Dr. Jalland compelled by the evidence to admit the existence of the Papal prerogatives much as we know them at the present time. Gradually the fact of the exercise of the papal primacy emerges from the pages of history as a right recognized by all the Churches, Eastern and Western. This right is taken for granted. There are no voices, whether in East or West, raised against it. Even the Church of Constantinople, up to Photius’ time, supposes the existence of that right, admits it, bows to it. Constantinople in fact claims only to share in that right, and one can hardly claim a share in a right one does not admit.

Another point worthy of special mention in the *Eastern Churches Quarterly* is the history of the relations between East and West as told here by Dr. Jalland. For the most part he lets the facts speak for themselves which is in a historian the very best of procedures. He thus enables us to study the theory of the *Imperator-Sacerdos*, the importance of which it is now the fashion to exaggerate, against the background of the papal reaction to it. The Byzantine Emperors may have claimed that title ; but the Church of Rome, and all who sided with her, declared again and again, that such a claim was a usurpation, nothing less. The following are among the names of those who can be quoted in this sense :—Popes Julius, Liberius, Leo and Gelasius ; Ambrose of Milan, Athanasius, Basil, Eusebius of Vercelli, Hilary of Poitiers,

Hosius of Cordoba, Lucifer of Cagliari, Dionysius of Milan, John Chrysostom, Tarasius of Constantinople, Theodore of Studium, Theodosius the Cenobiarch and John Damascene—that is, the foremost representatives of orthodoxy in East and West. It was above all the Papacy that valiantly combated this “view, which for many centuries was to become dominant in the East, and but for the almost ceaseless though often passive resistance of the Roman See would have probably become established throughout the whole Church” (p. 218). One quotation from the letter of Pope Felix III (483–492) to the Emperor Zeno in the case of Peter Mongus will suffice to show the attitude of the Roman See to the doctrine of the Emperor-Sacerdos (p. 319): “Of a certainty, it redounds to the prosperity of your affairs if, when the matter in hand concerns the things of God, you exert yourself according to His commandment to submit your imperial will to the bishops of Christ and not to assume leadership, to learn sacred matters from those who are set over them, to follow the prescription (*forma*) of the Church and not to prescribe to it laws to be followed after the fashion of men, nor to tyrannize over its ordinances, since it is in very deed God’s will that you should bow yourself in humble obedience.”

Lectures VI—The Papacy and Mediaeval Christendom, VII—The Papacy and Modern Europe, and VIII—The Papacy in the Nineteenth Century, occupy pages 360 to 543. This is, in our opinion, the weaker part of the book and the more debatable. The treatment is not as sure as that of the first five lectures, and now and then the author indulges in oversimplification and generalities not always convincing.

The book, however, as a whole is an important contribution to the history of the Papacy from the point of view of one who does not belong to the Roman Communion. There are here and there minor statements to which many Catholic scholars will take exception, e.g. the dates assigned to the second Epistle of St. Peter (p. 63, note 2) and to St. Paul’s Pastoral Letters (p. 77, note 4), St. Paul’s journey to Spain (p. 98; the author ought to have read Fr. Zacarias Villada, S.J., on this subject), etc. At times Dr. Jalland indulges in obiter dicta which cannot be reconciled with historical accuracy. For instance on page 413, note 1, commenting on the pontificate of St. Celestine V, “which itself,” the writer says, “is sufficient to illustrate the extent to which the Papacy had become secularized. A Saint could not remain Pope for more than six months.”

Not, we would add, because he was a Saint, but because he was quite incapable of governing; at any rate those who elected him evidently wanted to "spiritualize" the Papacy. In the present reviewer's opinion the least convincing lecture of *The Church and the Papacy* is that devoted to the history of the Vatican Council. A final note: it is, we think, a pity that the author has not made more frequent use of the vast number of treatises *De Ecclesia* written by Roman Catholic theologians: in some of them he would have found real scholarship and objective truth. In spite, however, of these minor adverse criticisms, we are happy to congratulate Dr. Jalland on producing a learned, conscientious and transparently sincere piece of work.

DOM ROMANUS RIOS.

Slavery and Freedom. By Nicholas Berdyaev. (Centenary Press, 1943.) Pp. 268. 25s.

Berdyaev's assumption of the manners of a prophet makes his book very difficult to review, though there is no doubt that it springs from an intimate necessity of his own thought and should therefore not be spoken of disrespectfully as if it was a mere piece of posing, as some readers might be inclined to think. But his rejection of rational philosophy and logical argument is not only, as I think, mistaken in itself, but it makes any courteous and civilized discussion of his book extremely difficult. Unless the reviewer is prepared to swallow Berdyaev's teaching whole and accept him unreservedly as a true prophet, which no Catholic can be expected to do, it is very difficult to do anything except, so to speak, to ascend a counter-pulpit and prophesy against him. Yet this would lead to an ignoring of the very great amount of truth which is contained in the book, mixed with the wildest errors and exaggerations. Perhaps the best thing to do will be to state dogmatically (for Berdyaev's rejection of the normal methods of argument leaves his reviewer no other choice than to be dogmatic) what seems to me to be the error and the truth of the book.

The root errors of the book seem to me to be religious, the important truths in it are concerned with the social order. It is important, I think, to realize that Berdyaev is not a Christian philosopher in any sense in which it seems to me legitimate

to use the phrase. He is a philosopher who uses Christianity for his own personal purposes and may in his turn be used with much profit, though with caution, by Christians. His doctrine of uncreated human personality, of the priority of freedom to being, and the utterly inadequate doctrine of God and the independent and assertive attitude towards Him that goes with it, take him right outside the Christian tradition. So does his hostility to every idea of law, order, harmony and hierarchy. And because the book is theologically perverse it is religiously profoundly disappointing, without any spirit of prayer or worship; it is difficult to see how there could be, for any recognition of our utter dependence on God, of our own nothingness, of His glory as the end of everything, is profoundly repugnant to Berdyaev. Where God is brought in at all, which is not as often as He might be, He sometimes seems to be introduced almost as an afterthought. This is especially noticeable in the last chapter on "Active-Creative Eschatology." The centre of the book is not God, but Human Personality, and in particular the personality of Nicholas Berdyaev. It is a very proud book, in spite of Berdyaev's frequent condemnations of pride and self-assertion. The fact is significant that he is so dominated by the Teutonic myth of the Solitary Genius, asserting his creativity in perpetual conflict with society, law, and objectivity, that he refers to it again and again. Though he repudiates its cruder forms and more obviously repellent consequences it is difficult not to get the impression that he wishes to substitute the infinite self-assertion of the German "genius" for the infinite self-abnegation of the saint¹ as the Christian ideal. The whole background of Berdyaev's thought is Germanic, or heavily Germanized nineteenth century and modern Russian, rather than traditionally Orthodox, and this genius-obsession is one very striking sign of it.

The effect of the book would perhaps have been different if Berdyaev had succeeded in giving more reality to the "existential" world about which he talks so much. As it is, for this reader at least, it remains very remote, a private abstract world of Berdyaev's in favour of which everything real and living and true, the Absolute Being of the Living God,

¹ Cp., the excellent discussion by E. C. Mason in *Lebenshaltung und Symbolik bei R. M. Rilke* (Böhlau-Verlag, Weimar, 1938) for the contrast of these two types and the impossibility of having it both ways, as Berdyaev would perhaps like to do.

the True Church, the Great Dance and holy harmony of created being, is condemned and rejected. The extreme abstractedness of the language, the negativity of most of the conclusions, the perpetual references to German and Russian philosophers, combine to produce an extraordinary impression of unreality; there are pages where we seem to be utterly and altogether in a book-world, not in the real world. The unreality of the book is further heightened by Berdyaev's positively journalistic inaccuracy in important matters of fact and his fantastically sweeping generalisations, which reduce long stretches of his denunciations to the level of sheer ranting.

Yet there is much that is good in the book. Berdyaev's analysis of the society and politics of our time is often most profound and penetrating, though he repeatedly spoils a good case by his inaccuracy, exaggeration, and passion for antithesis. When he protests against the false "organic" view of society which makes the human person only a cell in the body of Church or State he is in agreement with the teaching of Pope Pius XII in *Mystici Corporis Christi*. His denunciation of "historiolatry" is good and timely, and so is his denunciation of the idolatry of the State. His description of the bourgeois spirit and his demand for a "personalist" revolution are full of good things; though surely it is an unjustifiable misuse of terms to talk about "personalist socialism": socialism has always been collectivist and anti-personal (as Berdyaev admits): his personalist social order is called in English-speaking countries Distributist. In general when Berdyaev describes and protests against the slavery of man to man-made societies we can sympathise strongly and often follow his lead, when he does not spoil everything by distortion, untruth to fact and windy rhetoric. It is when he revolts against the humble service due from man to God in Himself, revealed in His Church, or manifesting Himself in His works that we must part company with him altogether. Berdyaev will not realize that God's "service is perfect freedom." So he loses worship, the praise of His Glory, the sense of our nothingness, the humble and reverent dealing with the sacramental universe of sensible nature, the loving submission to and co-operation with laws natural and revealed, by which our personality grows in the true way while we forget about it. Berdyaev would regard all this, if he read it, as slavery and delusion. So I would like to address to his imaginary and infuriated figure in conclusion

an assurance that I have felt in myself a very great deal more of what he writes than I have approved, and I have read his book, considered as autobiography, with the keenest sympathy; but I have tried not to claim to be a prophet and my own judge where Divine Truth is concerned. So, passionately as I believe in Christian personalism, all I can say of Berdyaev's personalism is that, though it is in many ways a noble doctrine, it lacks the one thing needful for its truth and wholeness, because it is not Christian.

A. H. ARMSTRONG.

The Divine Realm. By E. Lampert. (Faber and Faber.)
8s. 6d.

This is an important book. Its thought is so very concentrated that almost every line furnishes matter for lengthy discussion. The author is a young Russian theologian, a convert to the Orthodox Church. "This work was originally written as a D.Phil. thesis and appears here in a somewhat modified form" (p. 7). There are many things in it which a Catholic cannot accept, but this need not prevent attempts at narrowing the gulf which separates the writer and those who think with him from those who hold the doctrines of the Catholic Church. On p. 29 he appends the following footnote: "I should like to point out that my criticisms of St. Thomas are not designed as an 'attack' on him; they are put forward à titre de discussion and with all due respect for the great master of Western theology." That he should have thought it necessary to say this is a sad indication of the hypersensitiveness to criticism which is so noticeable in some Thomist circles. The lines along which those who desire a rapprochement between Eastern and Western theology might work are suggested on the same p. 29, in the text, by the following passage: "In the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas various trends of thought meet each other and intermingle; Aristotelianism and Platonism, Augustinianism, Scholastic and Dionysian doctrines and the dogmata of revelation. It is difficult therefore to give a precise characterization of this complex and architectonically powerful system. According as one or the other of the above elements is stressed, the system of Thomism is coloured by one or another dominant shade. The theology of St. Thomas is thus not so much a synthesis

as the meeting of different and not always homogeneous tendencies." It seems to the present reviewer that the development of the Augustinian elements in Thomism is most likely to narrow the gap between Catholic and Orthodox theologians.

In conclusion, a brief summary of the work will give some idea of its nature and scope. It is divided into three parts. In the first of these, which is entitled "God and the World," such topics as monism, dualism, creation, causality, time and eternity are considered, with a brief historical survey of the doctrines of Plato, Aristotle, the Fathers and St. Thomas relative to these matters. The second part, called "The Divine Realm," treats of the earth, the body, sex, economics and art. The third part, under the general heading of "The Sacrament," considers the symbol, the sacramental principle, metabolism, "epiklesis," and the ultimacy of the sacrament.

FR. SEBASTIAN, O.F.M.CAP.

The Soul of Russia By Helen Iswolsky. (Sheed and Ward.)
Pp. 172. 10s. 6d.

Of all the recent books on Russia, and a great many have appeared in the last seven or eight years, Miss Iswolsky gives, we think, the most complete picture. It is small, compact, and yet its range of matter is large. It has also some pleasing illustrations. It is planned to give as complete a picture as space allows.

The author calls her book "an outline of Russia's spiritual history, and a book permitting the reader to see at a glance the salient aspects of Russian religious culture and tradition."

The usual ground is gone over that one is used to in the books of Dr. Zernov and Miss J. N. Danzas, but we have here something more; there are chapters on Yury Krijanitch, the Catholic priest from Croatia and earliest exponent of Pan-slavism; on the Catholics, i.e., of the little group who in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, became Catholics, and unlike Krijanitch, identified themselves with Europe and the West; Peter Chaadaiev is also given a chapter to himself. Needless to say, Alexis Khomiakov, Dostoievsky and Vladimir Soloviev are studied, but also Alexander Blok, and there is a chapter on the soul of Russia to-day. There is also a good bibliography.

Miss Iswolsky is the daughter of Alexander Iswolsky who

had been Russian ambassador in Paris, and though of old Russia, she has studied Communism and been in close touch with Russians who left its ranks for Orthodoxy. Though now a Catholic, she remains still identified with her nation and its culture since she is not of the Latin but of the Byzantine rite.

From such a teacher it is good for Catholics and all interested in Russia's religious future to learn.

B.W.

The Russian Church and the Great War for the Fatherland. Collection of Ecclesiastical Documents. (Russian.)

This is very interesting as a historical record and bears witness to the intense patriotism of all classes in Russia as well as to their indignation at the wanton brutality of the German aggressors. But it is a pity that some of these prelates let themselves go too far, being carried away by their emotions.

A big proportion of these letters are written by the late patriarch of Moscow. There are also appeals to Rumanians and others not to fight against their fellow brothers in the Orthodox Church.

Summing up we may say the documents are historically interesting but, unless we are very much mistaken, they seem to be good propaganda for the Bolshevik régime.

J.M.M.

Churches in the U.S.S.R. By Stanley Evans. (Cobbett Publishing Co., Ltd.) Pp. 160. 5s.

Here is another book treating of the present condition of the Orthodox Church in the U.S.S.R., and there is some valuable information collected. On the other hand, the author seems to rely entirely on second-hand sources, and also to be but pleading a cause.

This book needs checking up with other more reliable works on the subject, e.g., *People, Church and State in Modern Russia*, by Paul B. Anderson, and *Religion in Soviet Russia*, by N. S. Timasheff, both of which have been reviewed in these pages.

B.W.

The Face of Russia. By George Lonkowski. (Hutchinson and Co., Ltd.) 223 illustrations. 12s. 6d.

There are twelve pages of letterpress describing the illustrations that follow. Although it is mainly the New that is dealt with, the Old is also given its place of honour and a line of continuity is stressed though certainly not the only one. It is an inspiring book and shows some of the more hopeful signs for the future of the U.S.S.R.

K.F.E.W.

Handbook to the Christian Liturgy. By James Norman. (S.P.C.K.) Pp. 334. 10s. 6d.

This is a very useful textbook, full of up-to-date information and detail. It first considers the liturgies in general and historically under the general heading of Regional Rites, and also in particular, e.g., Syria, Egypt, Western Churches, and the Gallican Family. Then the Mass is gone into in detail, viz., Mass of the Catechumens, Mass of the Faithful, the Anaphora. But all this is dealt with by considering all the liturgies together and showing their various uses of the basic liturgical principles. Also such details as the making of the bread, the vesting of the ministers, etc., are dealt with. There are in addition four appendices covering more controverted points. It is a most excellent book.

B.W.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Dacre Press: *The Shape of the Liturgy*, and *The Question of Anglican Orders.* Dom Gregory Dix.

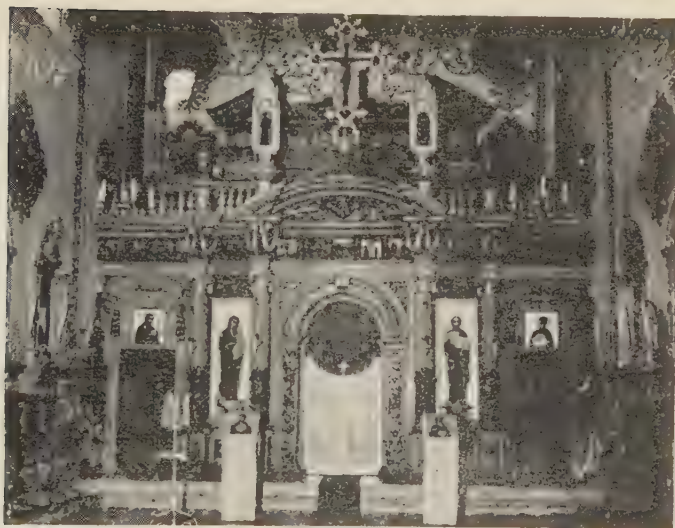
Sheed and Ward: *Four Gospels.* Dom John Chapman.

S.P.C.K.: *Dispensation in Practice and Theory.*

The English Mediaeval Recluse. F. D. S. Darwin.

Society of the Magnificat: *Liturgical Week-end*, 1944.

GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH OF
OUR LADY OF DAMASCUS
VALLETTA, MALTA



EXTERIOR



RUINS

With kind permission of "Vela" Laboratories, Valletta, Malta



Procession on the occasion of the crowning of the Eikon of
Our Lady by the Chapter of St. Peter's in 1931

With kind permission of "Vela" Laboratories, Valletta, Malta



ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST
(From Neresi Monastery, 1164)



ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

(From *Gračanica*, 1321)



ST. NADELJA

(Personification of the Resurrection)

(From the Church of the Virgin, Péc, 14th Century)



PRAISE TO THE HOLIEST



OUR LADY OF SMOLENSK

By courtesy of Count George Bennisen.



OUR LADY OF CZESTOCHOWA

By courtesy of Polish Research Centre



POPE PIUS X WITH THE MELKITE PATRIARCH CYRIL VIII (GIHA)

with a group of Melkite bishops and clergy in Rome for the celebrations of the 13th centenary of the death of St. John Chrysostom on February 12th, 1908.



CYRIL IX (MOGABGAB)
the present Melkite Patriarch of Antioch.

Courtesy of "Lien"

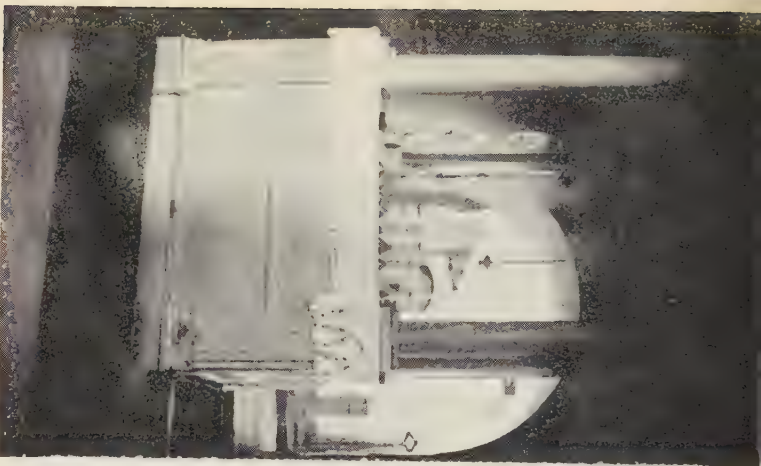


MAXIMOS III (MAZLOUM)

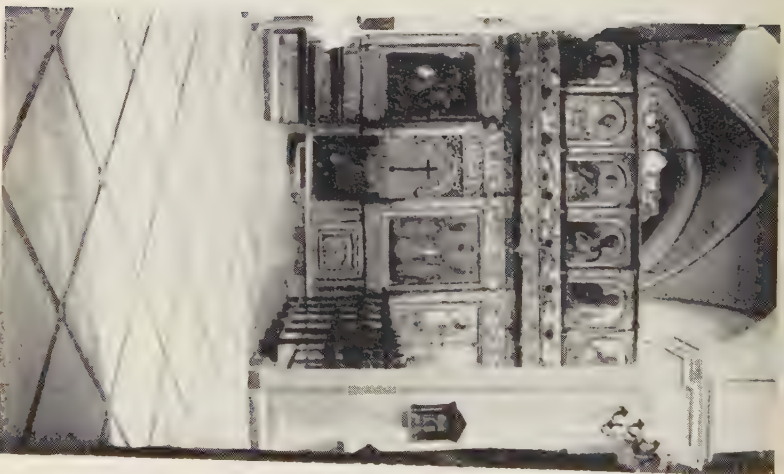
(1779-1865)

One of the greatest of the Melkite Patriarchs and the one who obtained the civil position of the Catholic Melkites as a separate nation.

Courtesy of "Lien"



St. Saviour,
Sanctuary from within the Eikonastasis.

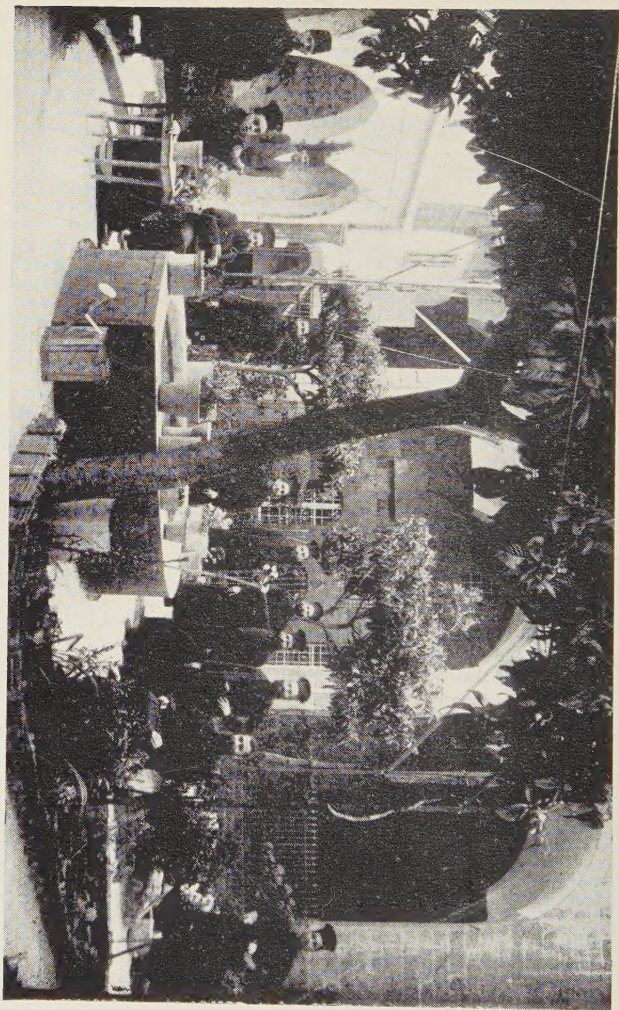


Acre, Melkite Church, north aisle.

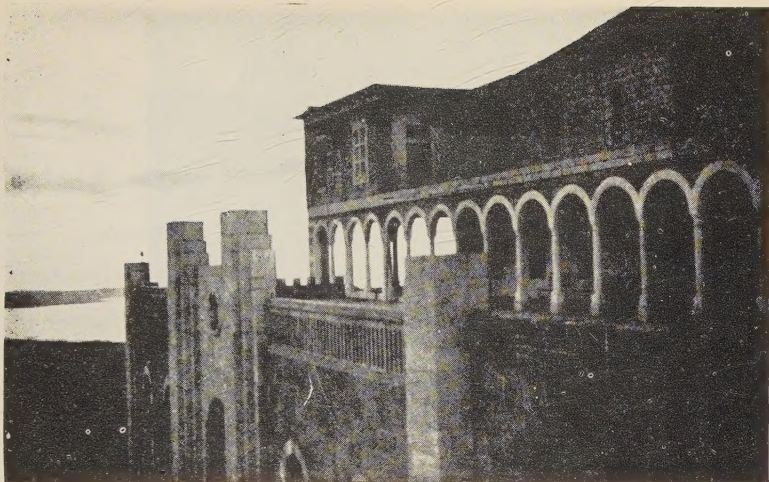


The Most Reverend Mgr. Andrew Szepticky (Sheptitsky)
Archbishop of Lwów and
Metropolitan of Haliez

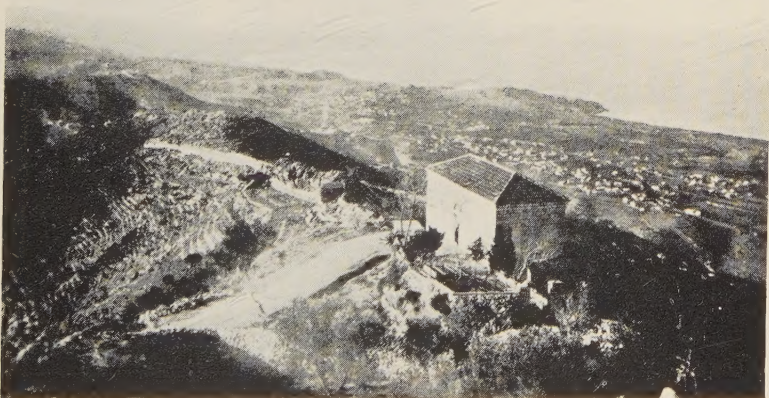
courtesy of "Pax"



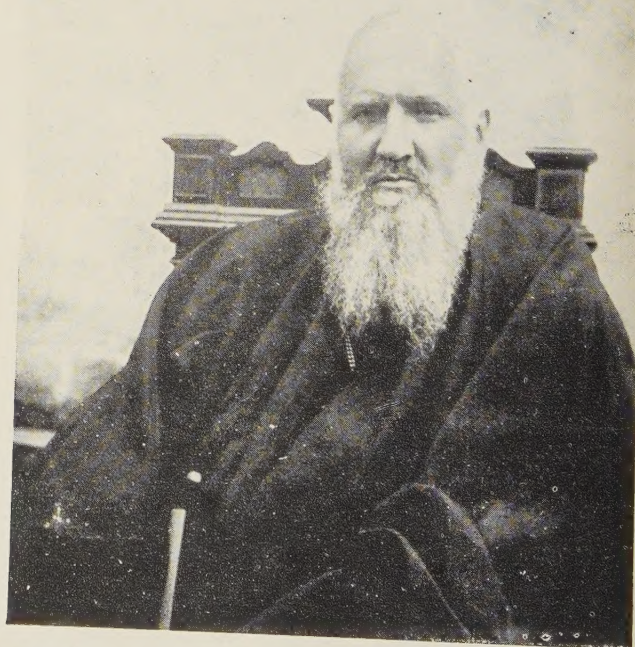
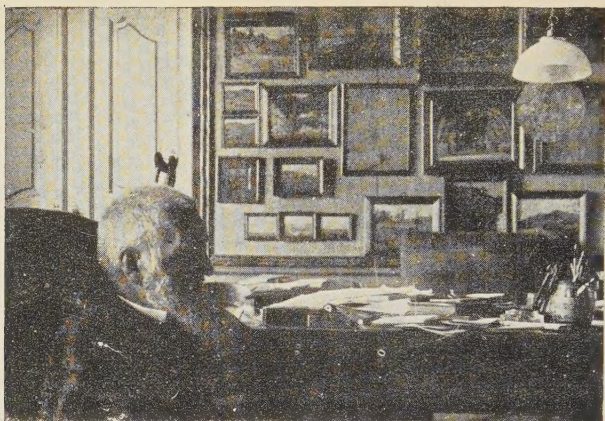
Group of Melkite Monks in courtyard of Monastery, near Beyrouth.



Mother House of the Paulists, Harissa, Lebanon.



Harissa, Lebanon.



THE MOST REVEREND METROPOLITAN ANDREW SZEPTICKY